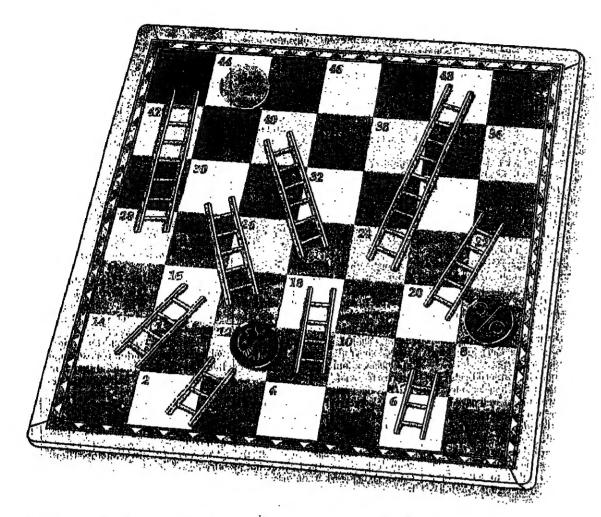
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# TheGuardian

Week ending February 9, 1997.

# Mahatma's ashes cast on Ganges

M R Narayan Swamy in Aliahabad

"HE last remaining ashes of Mahatma Gandhi were cast last week into the holy Hindu river Ganges in the northern city of Allahabad exactly 49 years after the assassination of the leader of India's independence

Amid chanting of Hindu scriptures by pundits, Tushar Gandhi, the 35-year-old greatgrandson of the Mahatnia, scattered the ashes from a copper urn that had been stored in a bank vault almost 50 years ago and then surprisingly forgotten.

The brief ceremony, watched in silence by about 2,000 people, marked the end of a controversy that simmered for two years. In 1994, the State Bank of India in Cuttack stumbled on a ong-forgotten box in its vault, hich turned out to contain a portion of Gandhi's ashes that had been deposited for safe-keeping by a politician in 1948, the year Gandhi — the man who did more than anyone else to top ple the British Raj — was assassinated by a Hindu fanatic.

Tushar Gandhi wanted the shes to be scattered in the Arabian Sea off Gujarat, Gandhi's birthplace. But India's Supreme Court asked him to carry out the rites in Allahabad, a Hindu pilgrimage centre where the Ganges



# **UK relents on Hong Kong minorities**

Vivek Chaudhary and Rebecca Smithers

ICHAEL Howard, the Home Secretary, was expected to announce this week that 8,000 ethnic minority citizens of Hong Kong will be given full British passports after increased criticism that they would

have been left stateless when the colony is handed back to China. Most are from the Indian subconinent and will be eligible for British national overseas status, with the right to live in Britain.

Mr Howard was expected to make following sustained lobbying by Tory MPs and representatives of Hong Kong's non-Chinese community who have been in London recently for talks with politicians.

According to government sources, members of the community who already have nationality of Pakistan, will not be entitled to

Chris Patten, Hong Kong's gover-nor, has been championing the cause of the colony's ethnic minor-

ity community, claiming that leaving Kong dates its origins back to the them stateless would damage 19th century: about 2,000 Indian Britain's credibility in negotiation with China over civil liberties.

Mr Howard has been resisting Mr Howard has been resisting moves to grant Hong Kong's non-Chinese community full British passports. But political sources said that although Mr Howard was against the move, Mr Patten had won him and John Major over dur ing his visit to London in December. According to the sources, the granting of British passports will

serve mainly to reassure the com-

munity should an uncertain political the announcement in response to a parliamentary question on Tuesday following sustained lobbying by

atmosphere arise when Hong Kong adds: Hong Kong has lost 30 per one by M Sharif, have been sacked cent of its British population in just by presents using controversial nine months, abruptly reversing powers to dissolve the National position follows a sustained cam- what had been an end-of-empire paign by backbench Tories, led by Sir Patrick Cormack, the MP for British but

Staffordshire South. During a high-profile visit to the colony last spring, the Prime Minis-ter said he sympathised with the other countries, such as India or plight of the non-Chinese ethnic community, but could only promise a guarantee of resettlement in

The Indian community in H-

---

troops were present in the colony vhen it was taken over by the British. Many of them are successful businessmen and craftsmen and are not expected to take advantage of the

right to resettle in Britain. Hong Kong's Chinese community will be entitled to full Chinese citizenship when the colony is handed over. The Chinese government, however, has said it will not grant residents of the colony.

Andrew Higgins in Hong

British business leaders attribute the decline to the ebb of a "floating population" made up of backpackers, labourers and short-term contract staff working on a new airport. Policemen and civil servants are ... 10 the end also leaving.

Over the nine minber of Britons

# **Sharif sweeps to** landslide victory

AWAZ SHARIFS Pakistan Muslim League swept to a landslide victory in Monday's general elections, invading even Benazir Bhutto's native Sind province, previously her virtual

Pakistan People's Party (PPP) coming close to collapse outside her home territory, with the Muslim League capturing nearly all the seats in Punjab, the country's political heartland, and, together with its allies, a majority of seats in the North-West Frontier province.

On Tuesday, with 177 results de clared for the 217-seat National Assembly, the PPP had won only 15 seats, mostly in Sind province. against an outright majority of 124 seats for Sharif's PML.

Before the dismissal of Ms Bhutto as prime minister in November, the PPP held 86 seats to the PML's 72.

Mr Sharif's election landslide sets the stage for a strong Pakistani government, but possible protests by Ms Blutto could cloud prospects for stability, analysts said on Tuesday. Ms Bhutto has said she would not accept the outcome of the elections if she lost, accusing the caretaker government of acting to ensure the ote went in Mr Sharif's favour.

Commonwealth election observers, led by the former Ausralian prime minister, Sir Malcolm Fraser, detected no major abuses in

A political analyst, Shirin Mazari said a PPP boycott would make tatle difference given the PPP dismal electoral showing, "Eyes of the PPP with the period of the PPP dismal electoral showing, "Eyes of the PPP dismals to each applier it can't wants to act as a apoiler, it can't actually do so. If a party of such size boycotts parliament, it hardly questions the legitimacy of parliament,"

Mr Sharif's reajority may insulate his government from possible protests by a younded Ms Bhutto, but he will nove to trend carefully in his relations with President Farooq Leghari and Pakistan's powerful nilitary establishment.

Pakistanaas been under military rule for 24)f its 50 years of independence. The past four governments, including wo led by Ms Bhutto and powers to dissolve the National Assemb. President Leghari called the last elections after firing Ms Bhutton November 5 on disputed charge of corruption and misrule.

Bore the election, Mr Sharif's oppients accused him of striking a sect deal with the president under with the PML would be allowed to reain power as long as it accepted the "advice" of a new security couna guarantee of resettlement in Britain if they came under pressure of last years dropped from an allto leave.

Over the nine winber of Britains of last years dropped from an allin \*peak of 36,900 to 25,500.

The Indian community is No.



Wheelshy

sufficient theory in the state of the state of

Mr Sharif said on Tuesday be would implement reforms to rescue an economy he said was ruined by Ms Bhutto's government. "Benazir Bhutto has totally destroyed our economy, so we'll have to bring in very bold reforms," he said in his home city of Lahore.

\*Since we have an overwhelming majority, we are preparing a fresh agenda" for reforms, he said, adding that he would be ready to talk about them in detail later this week.

Although the initial results surpassed even Mr Sharif's expectations, perhaps the most telling result is the turnout figure — 25.96 per cent — 2 sign of widespread disenchantaient with Pakistan's two main whiticians and the prospect of voting

for the fourth time in nine years. A devastating defeat looms for former cricket hero Imran Khan. whose Tehreek-e-Insaaf party was faced with the possibility of not winning a single seat.

House of Saddam riven by feuds

**Working mums** take the rap

Why Biko's killers 12 must be forgiven

Microcredit . gets its due

The lost words of Anne Frank

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T IS unfortunate that the interna-tional limelight falls on Latin America only when kidnappings of foreigners, military coups or volcanic eruptions stir the sedated minds of North Americans and Europeans (No future for rebels trapped in the past, January 5).

Contrary to what we are told, Peru, like the rest of Latin America, is not a democracy.

True, there are spurious parodies of elections in which wealthy presidents are replaced by rich presidents. These open buffas, as the Chileau poet Pablo Neruda called them, are legitimised and certified by one or more international democratic/endowment foundations (usually from the United States). each eager to extend their own influence and thus help to plunder whatever resources are present in the targeted country.

Any legitimate opposition is quickly silenced by covert or open state terrorism; incarceration, disappearances, torture and illegal execuions. As a consequence, a large majority of the poor are disenfranchised from the power structure.

In fact, Latin Americans have become hostages of the neo-conservative economic project, designed by the G7 nations and imposed on Latin America by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and other financial institutions. As a result, 500,000 children die every year of hunger and curable diseases. Furthermore, in a tragic and perverse ransom-style payment system, Latin Americans have paid their captors, the industrialised countries, \$630 billion since 1986 for servicing interests on a debt acquired and squandered by the Latin American oligarchies.

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United Kingdom.....

These "second-class hostages" unlike the ones in the Japanese ambassador's residence in Lima, receive no medical attention whatsoever and

live in abject poverty.

No one should be surprised if one day the lid comes off the pressure cooker that is South American society. In 1961 when President Kennedy launched the Alliance for Progress he said: "Those who oppose peaceful changes will have to endure the responsibility of violent changes." The choice is ours.

Carlos Flores, lictoria, BC, Canada

### Mixed blessings of political union

HOSE who seek to surrender

British sovereignty to the European Union often cite the United States as a salutary example. For some of us Yanks, though, our union is a mixed blessing. The common currency is handy, to be sure but there are drawbacks. There is free trade among the states, which makes it easy for businesses to relocate, and northern states with decent welfare, education, and labour policies are constantly threatened by southern states luring employers with promises of cheap labour, low taxes and no trade unions. Relatively sophisticated northeasterners have their television censored by southern preachers. Our insanely ounitive criminal laws are the work of southern Democrats and reac-

ionary Republicans. Because of that unholy alliance, most of our taxes for the last 50 years have been spent on the invasion of

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African countries, and lighting communism. Abraham Lincoln thought it worth a war to keep the union ogether, but in recent decades, membership has been mostly an expensive embarrassment. And if Lincoln had let the Confederacy go, our current president, vice-president, Senate majority leader, and Speaker of the House would not be eligible to

Latin American, Middle Eastern and

hold office in Washington. Michigan, where I live, has good balance of heavy and hi-tech ndustry, services and agriculture and many good public universities. Our economic direction, however, comes from federal loonies like Alan Greenspan and Paul Volcker, who seek to control inflation by kiting unemployment and curtailing business investment. Those rushing to the EU should consider the value of democracy when economic policy is not controlled by the electorate. If Euroscepticism has become pejorative, at least substitute Eurocaution. Art Hilgart, Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA

### Royal yacht in choppy waters

MICHAEL PORTILLO has made much of the need to maintain the pomp and dignity of the monar-chy by not involving private finance in the replacement for Britannia (Royal family dragged into yacht row, February 2). A few years ago I was invited to the Queen's birthday celebration at the British ambassador's residence in Warsaw. The garden was full of marquees promoting British products, and the highlight of the celebration was Beating The Retreat by the band of he Royal Highland Fusiliers sponsored by Rank Xerox.

I was told the Foreign Office insisted that all such events should be financed through commercial spon-

Youse of Lords, Westminster, London

VEARS AGO the UK had a hospital ship, HMHS Maine. Her replacement was already on the stocks when it was decided to build the royal yacht. It was said at the time that not enough funds were available for both. The Britannia was built and the hospital-ship

replacement scrapped.
The excuse given for this was that in time of war the Britannia would convert to a hospital ship. Since she was built we have experienced many crises and conflicts, Suez and the Falklands being two of the most serious. I do not recall the Britannia playing any part in either of them.

Now a replacement is to be built. What will the Navy lose this time? Colchester, Essex

*HE* current American presi dency appears to be turning fund-raising into a fine art. Perhaps Britain could learn from America.

Before it is too late, may I suggest that the royal family be privatised? If royals were responsible for generating their own income, they would no longer be a burden on the taxpayer, and much of the wind would e removed from republican sails. ndeed, this might be the only way of ecserving the monarchy as an

The oppor are endless. Appropriate charges

Vietnam, the destruction of several | for a royal handshake, a public speech, tickets to the Trooping of the Colour, B&B at the Palace . . Investors at home and abroad would surely flock to buy shares in such a unique enterprise. Andrew Chesterman. Helsinki, Finland

## Passion in the Canadian forests

1968-84, I was interested in Tom Bryson's article about the controversy over logging in Northern Ontario's old-growth pine forests (Wail of the lonesome pine, January 19). But why did Mr Bryson give the impression that this controversy is a surprising development on the Canadian scene? While Canada is still a "peaceful, well-ordered, sociallydemocratic" society, passionate and at times fiercely confrontational disputes over the treatment of its forests (and other matters of national concern) have been going on for years. Indeed, Canada has for some time been prepared to take issue with its more powerful neighbour over environmental protection, although that is not to say its own record is above criticism.

Perhaps Mr Bryson isn't interested in knowing about Canada in depth, or in presenting articles about it in a broader context, because he considers it, and the Scandinavian countries to which he somewhat inappropriately compares it, "boring"?

Patricia M. Brown, Crafers, South Australia, Australia

TOM BRYSON'S excellent article showed that his heart was in the right place, even if his political malysis was a little confused. Mike Harris's extreme rightwing Conservative government has been trying to out-Thatcher Thatcher. Its budgetary knife not only threatens the pines referred to in Bryson's article, but also our social security net and medical care in the province. Honefully, however, any damage done by them will be correctable after the next provincial election. We just hope that it won't be too late for the pines. Evan Patrick, Ottawa, Ontario, Canada

# Health warning for junk food?

A NNE KARPF is quite right when she points out the dangers of the commercial exploitation of children by junk-food companies (Vegetables matter, February 2). But she understates the seriousness of the problem..

Junk food, promoted as it is, i

not simply a health issue. The creation of a demand for specific brands of food undermines parental authority and budgetary contro weakens and breaks up families by destroying the cohesive habit of communal eating, and acts against cultural diversity by subverting the

world's traditional cuisines. The solution is simple. We accep constraints on tobacco and alcoho advertising; let us also restrict the advertising of unhealthy food prod-ucts, or indeed all advertising calculated to exploit young children. which naturally goes unquestioned Laurence Mann,

Twickenham, Middlesex

### Briefly

SRAELI "settlers" in Hebrun should do - for the sake of peace - what all other "settlers" in other parts of the world (Australia, America, etc) do: that is, adopt the nation ality of their new country.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

How would the US administration deal with a situation where, for instance, Mexico grabbed a piece of US territory, quickly established "settlers" there at the expense of American citizens and when demands were made to recover lost territory, used the safety of the "settlers" as bargaining points?

If Israel thinks that she is entitled to her God-given land, should not the Australian Aborigines and the American Red Indians not have the same right to reclaim back their God-given land and chuck out the mainly white population?

Sydney, Australia

WHY DO market forces have to be hard on the poor and disad-vantaged? Chris Barrie's article Lights switched off on mean street anuary 5), may well be the future for free-enterprise countries but does have to be? Here in Zambia the state-owned Electricity Supply Cor poration charges higher unit prices o customers who use more electric ity. This is not only fair in a Third World situation but would carry

great benefits if adopted in the West Higher charges for higher consumption encourages energy saving, which cuts down on pollution, an ideal way for the UK to cut down on power station emissions. Neil McCartney,

I WOULD like to know what Matthew Engel meant by "From a distance the sounds merged into a general ululation, like an African luneral". Is he referring to Malawi. Gambia or Madagascar? Or perhaps he's referring to funerals in Uganda, Namibia or Lesotho? It's about time condescending generalisations ( the African continent were curtailed Wina Sangala, Lilongwe, Malawi

MAY the Lord preserve us from politicians whose preoccupation is to "go down in history" (Miterrand's plan to 'bow out in style'. Le Monde, January 19).

If anything has bedevilled mankind over the centuries it must surely be this preposterous and lethal vainglory among the great, but not so good. Besides, whose company exactly did Mitterrand hope to keep? Attila the Huni Genghis Khan? Stalin? Hitler? Sylvia Ismall, Wilmslow, Cheshire

James Dale, not John M Miller, wrote the first letter in the "Briefly" column last week. Apologies.

# The Guardian

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# Belgrade police inflame protest

Julian Borger in Belgrade

ENTRAL Belgrade resembled an armed encampment for the second night in succession on Monday as President Slobodan Milosevic threw hundreds of riot police into his 11-week conflict with anti-government protesters.

In response, opposition leaders called for a public campaign of passive resistance, including the closure of schools and universities, the non-payment of tax and bills, and a national strike.

They warned that the Serblan leader may invoke emergency powers as buslonds of riot policemen, some with automatic rifles, were brought in from provincial towns to prevent an estimated 80,000 demonstrators from marching in the main shopping district - the latest in nearly three months of protests against government election rigging.

More than 100 people, including a senior opposition leader, were njured by the police action, which appears to have been centrally co-

Last Sunday, in a sign that Mr Milosevic is determined to hang on to his authority, riot police in Belgrade used baton charges and for the first time — water cannon to disperse demonstrators.

Western European capitals issued stern rebukes for the use of force. During a visit to Sweden, Malcolm kilkind, the British Foreign Secretary, said: "The Serbian authorities must allow opposition supporters to meet and demonstrate freely. The only way forward is for President Milosevic to recognise without fur-ther delay the opposition victories in

the November elections." The Serb leader's hardline stance is also causing concern to his former allies, Borisav Jovic, Yugoslavia's former president and a senior Serbian Socialist, warned Mr Milosevic last week that the ruling party would turn against him unless he accepted election defeats and reduced the political influence of his wife.

Alex Duval Smith in Paris

RANCE'S mainstream right

wing on Monday entered into a

risky pact with the Socialists in an

attempt to stop the National Front

gaining control of a fourth southern

After the extremist National

Front won a 10-point lead last Sun-

day over the Socialists in the first

round of municipal elections in Vit-

rolles, near Marseille, the prime

minister, Alain Juppé, called on the

candidate for his own rightwing fac-

tion to stand down and asked voters

o "face up to their responsibilitles".

The appeal prompted the rightwing candidate, Roger Guichard, who came third with 16.3 per

cent of the vote, to withdraw from

the second round, due this Sunday.

In an interview with the Guardian, Mr Jovic, the president's closest war-time associate, launched bitter attack on the leadership of Mr Milosevic and his wife, Mirjana Markovic, and predicted the break-United Nations war crimes tribunal. up of the Serbian Socialist Party (SPS) and a political realignment. is believed to be based in Pale, the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb capital.

of Yugoslavia's collective presidency for a year from May 1990, said the Serbian leadership had violated the constitution by annulling opposition victories in local elections last November - the move that triggered the street protests. He urged the president to recog-

nise the results or seek a political compromise with the opposition Za-jedno coalition, but said: "I don't helieve he is psychologically capable of even realising his mistake and correcting it."

Mr Jovic is the most senior figure o break ranks. His criticism is a further sign that the longer the crisis continues, the more the president's authority will suffer. The Orthodox Church has turned against Mr Milosevic, and the army refuses to act against the demonstrators. Meanwhile damning new evi-

dence is emerging of Mr Milosevic's pursuit of a "dirty war" in Croatia and Bosnia that significantly strengthens the case for his indictment by the war crimes tribunal in The Hague.

The president's former allies and employees are beginning to speak out about how the covert war was fought. The damaging claims made by former allies point to the exis tence of a parallel chain of command that allowed Mr Milosevic to bypass the Yugoslav army - which he distrusted - and exert direct control over Serb paramilitary groups and their campaign of ethnic cleansing.

A former paramilitary comman der, Branislav Vakic, said his men were armed and trained by agents of Mr Milosevic's secret police who now hold top posts in the regime. He said he will go to The Hague to prove he was under the same chain of command as the police and army. Radovan Karadzic, the wanted Bosnian Serb leader, told a Greek newspaper he was innocent of war crimes in Bosnia and said nobody would dare arrest him and bring him to trial. "I have 2,000 bodyguards who follow me everywhere. This is why they can't arrest me and send me to the court. They know that in only a few seconds there will be 500 dead and they won't be my men." Mr Karadzic, twice indicted by a

Juppé in pact to halt National Front

tween the National Front candidate

- who won 46.6 per cent of the vote

- and the Socialist candidate, Jean-

Jacques Anglade, with 36.9 per cent.

the Socialist. He told France-Inter:

"Voters who care about the values of

the Republic should face up to their

responsibilities. The rightwing candidate must withdraw from the

second round and common sense

But the municipal elections

Vitrolles are only being held be-cause the Socialist candidate was

found gullty of abusing municipal

funds after his election to the town

must prevail."

With his appeal, made on French

headquarters in Paris, means the controlled the town for more than second round will be a run-off be-20 years, that it refused to support

for his own supporters to vote for | the June 1995 municipal elections,

hall in June 1995. So embarrassed | Megret. Mr Megret was disquall-

month's rerun.



### Taliban makes gains in north

ANIC stock-piling of food and a sudden collapse of the local currency are shaking northern Afglianistan as fears grow that the ultra fundamentalist Taliban militia are on the brink of occupying the remaining areas outside their control, diplomats and aid agency officials said.

"Commanders from the forces of Abdul Rashid Dostam are thought to be buying dollars desperately, a least to get their families out, if not themselves," said a diplomat who was in Kabul recently.

General Dostam is the Uzbek warlord whose forces control Mazar and the northern plains as well as both sides of the Salang pass, which carries the main road across the Hindu Kush, the country's natural dividing line.

The other main anti-Taliban leader, Ahmed Shah Massoud, was reported by the Afghan Islamic Press, based in Pakistan, to have

20 years, that it refused to support

Mr Anglade's campaign in this

the extremist party is expected to

make Vitrolles its fourth high-

profile seat in southern France. In

the National Front won the large

naval city of Toulon, as well as the

city of Orange and a Marsellle

dormitory town, Marignane, It also

won smaller seats in the north of

southern fieldoms as "laboratories

In Vitrolles, the National Front's

for National Front government".

candidate is Catherine Mégret -

running instead of the party's deputy leader, her husband Bruno

Because of Mr Anglade's record,

northern side of the Hindu Kush a

If the Taliban were to cross the nountains, Commander Massoud's retreat would give him a better chance of defending the north-western regions where his people, ethnic Taiiks, live.

In September the Taliban, after capturing the capital Kabul, pushed about 80km north but were driven back. In the past two weeks, however, a sweeping advance up the Ghorband valley towards Shibar has taken them further north than ever

In another sign of desperation, Gen Dostam's forces last week blew up bridges on the southern side of the Salang to prevent the Taliban

storming up the pass.

The Taliban have taken brutal steps to prevent a repeat of last year's failure to advance north of Kabul: they have emptied all the Tajik towns and villages and forced civilians to trek to Kabul. So fa some 90,000 people have had

paign budget in the June 1995 poll, in which he came second with 42

Campaigning has been aggressive on all sides. The National Front has played up its anti-corruption rhetoric, frequently using its slogan "La Ripoux-blique" — the rotten republic, It points to Its southern flefdoms as models of municipal thrift.

per cent.

But Andrée Baduel, a scho teacher who a year and a half ago started a telephone hotline to protect National Front opponents in Foulon, said: "The party claims to be saving money and freezing municipal taxes. In fact, their sav-France, but the party refers to its | ings have been minimal and we have seen many of the National Front's enemies facing personal

Much of Vitrolles's 39,000 popula-tion is lower middle-class, having moved up in the world from Marseille's rough and racist northern The move, engineered by party | was the Socialist Party, which has | fied because he overspent his cam- | district.

### The Week

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 3

S OUTH AFRICA'S president, Nelson Mandela, named his bitter rival Mangosuthu Buthelezi to take control of the country while he attended the World Economic Forum in Switzerland. Le Monde, page 13

RESIDENT Clinton suffered a setback when Congress ostponed approval of Alexis Herman, the labour secretaryelect, and Anthony Lake, nominated to head the CIA.

HE Italian government has traced five crates of gold and valuables apparently taken from Jewish victims of the Nazis.

C HINA rebuked the United States for issuing annual re-ports critical of Beiling's human rights record, saying they inter-fered in China's internal offairs. Washington Post, page 15

THE global Red Cross organisation, IFRC, said that food rations across North Korea had dronned to a level four times ower than was normally considered essential to maintain a healthy population.

B RAZIL'S lower house voted to approve a constitutional mendment allowing the president, Fernando Henrique Cardoso, to seek an unprecedented second term in office.

S ILVIO BERLUSCONI'S brother, Paulo, and the forner leader of his party Forza Italia, Cesare Previti, were acquitted of plotting to end the career of Italy's anti-corruption prosecutor, Antonio Di Pietro.

THE case against Timothy McVeigh, alleged to have masterminded the 1995 Oklahoma City bombing, suffered a setback when prosecutors admitted that a key witness had been confused about the identity of a second suspect.

THE BELGIAN government was in turmoll as a wave of demonstrations threatened its strategy of cutting expenditure to qualify for monetary union, and the Socialist Party in the governng coalition was hit with new accusations of corruption.

THE institutions of the European Union were told to cease being a "white ghetto" and recruit more officials from ething a debate on the eve of the EU's Year Against Racism.

HE Socialist prime ministerdesignate, Nikolai Dobrev. surprised Bulgarians by postponing formation of his controversial new cabinet. Strikes, blockades and protests for linniediate fresh elections continued for the 30th straight day on Monday by citizens who blame the government for economic chaos and want to see them swept from power.

According to some Arab sources Iday, probably paralysed, has married the 16-year-old daughter of one of his father's most brutal henchmen, responsible for gas attacks on Kurdish civilians — while his mother has been put under house

Intelligence analysts and Middle East experts were scratching their heads last week over the latest reports, with the White House declarng that "complicated internal struggles for power" were going on in the Iraqi capital.

Iraqi opposition leaders could not confirm the revelation by a senior good shape, exile sources specu-Pentagon official — "from a good lated. Pentagon official — "from a good

source" — that Sajida was under house arrest, but said she was angry and devastated by her husband's inability to secure medical treatment abroad for her badly injured son.

France, which has closer links with Iraq than any other Western country, has refused to allow him to enter the country for treatment, though French doctors have exam-

Uday, aged 32, and his father's heir apparent, was seriously wounded on December 12 in a grenade and machine-gun attack as he drove through Baghdad. Reports have suggested the motive was either a business or family feud.

"Uday has been hit very, very hard and has one or two bullets left in his spine and is semi-paralysed," the Pentagon official said. "He may

lose his leg from gangrene."
Reports that Uday, still in Baghdad's Ibn Sina hospital, had married the daughter of Ali Hassan al-Majid were designed to show he was in

Opposition sources said the most | élite Ann al-Khas (special security). credible claim for the attack had been made by a small underground group called Al-Nahda (Renaissance) and that a link between one of its leaders and Sajida's brother, Louai Kheirallah Tulfah, was another reason for her rift with her

> President Bill Clinton was briefed on the situation in Iraq by General Binford Peay, the comman forces in the Gulf. Diplomats in Washington said: "It would be premature to speak of the endgame for Saddam Hussein, but something is

But with signs that Washington might be exaggerating President Saddam's domestic troubles for propaganda purposes, indications from Baghdad are that the most serious problem facing the president is the regime's inability to catch the perpetrators of the attack

Rivalries between three different security organisations are taking their toll, with the lion's share of a and people from his home town Family difficulties are com-

pounded by Sajida's grieving daughters, Raghad and Rana, whose nusbands — Li-Gen Hussein Kaniel al-Majid and his brother Saddam were killed by family members after they returned to Iraq last February from Jordan, where they had defected. Hussein Kamel al-Majid had been in charge of Iraq's secret weapons programme, while Saddam al-Maiid was deputy head of the Iraqi leader's palace guard.

The Saddam family has been torn by violence, especially involving Uday, who reportedly murdered his father's half-brother in 1995, and bludgeoned to death a favourite servant in 1988. Reports at the time said Uday was angry with the servant for arranging romantic liaisons for President Saddam and he wanted to defend the honour of his

During his briefing, Mr Clinton was told that a new wave of division scale military exercises by Iraq had followed a purge of senior ranks of the Iraqi officer corps after the attack on Uday, and that newly promoted commanders were learning

Guerrilla mastermind wins Chechen poll

Mr Maskhadov went on to say: There is only one thing to be done now. This independence should be recognised by all the states in the world, including Russia. But we are only going to pursue this using po-litical methods."

The first step towards international recognition of the election was provided by the Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe, whose 72 observers said they had found no serious discrepancies in polling.
Mr Yeltsin, after a meeting with

his prime minister, Viktor Cherno-myrdin, said that he was satisfied with the results. Mr Maskhadov's victory now leaves the way clear for a continuation of negotiations on Chechenia's relationship with Moscow, Formidable problems remain - not least the question of reparations for the damage that the Russian army inflicted on the

Mr Maskhadov said: "When the Russians understand that they have used all methods and that there is only one option left, we will have to sit down at the negotiating table and solve all the problems. We are ready for that tomorrow."

A military officer who led the Chechen guerrilla resistance, outnumbered and outgunned by vastly superior Russian forces, Mr

The few ethnic Russians left a

communities who had demanded

In a country devastated by war. Mr Maskhadov represents the best chance of unifying the fiercely independent rival Chechen bands. Last week he held out an olive branch to ! his defeated opponent, Mr Basayev, ralling him a "comrade in arms".

ered around the Basayev campaign.

• The ANC demanded last week

that the investigation into the

murder of the popular South

African Communist Party leader

Chris Hani be reopened after a

newspaper claimed his death

was part of a more extensive

rightwing plot than originally

mander, he took 1,000 hostages at a hospital in southern Russia, had the grounds that he has yet to issue any writs against them. accused one of Mr Maskhadov's running-mates of corruption. The president-elect dismissed the mud slinging as campaign "jitters". "If he wants to he can come to me and he can be my friend as he was before nobody here will prevent that. Everything now depends on Ma Maskhadov's ability to tame the

the cases against him.

'selling everything" to meet

The legal onslaught on Mr Tang provides what many see as a lesson In the risks run by anyone who dares to challenge the PAP. It has also brought renewed attention to the role of the courts.

# SAS linked to Pretoria rogue force

**Javid Beresford** n Johannesburg

HE SAS, Britain's special air services, has been linked to violence by a "third force" that threatened to undermine South Africa's transition to majority rule, in a report considered so explosive was suppressed by Nelson Mandela.

The so-called Steyn Report - the findings of an inquiry ordered by the former president, FW de Klerk, into revolutionary activities of elements of the South African security forces in the final years of white rule - was handed to Mr Mandela in anticipation of his succession to the presidency.

Singapore

dissident

Nick Cumming-Bruce

NGAPORE'S leaders have

Stepped up their legal campaign against Tang Liang Hong, one of a tiny band of opposition politicians with a court injunction freezing his

assets up to the value of \$7.7 mil

lion. Their campaign has revived

questions about whether Singa-

pore's leaders use the courts to sti-

Leaders of the ruling People's

Action Party (PAP) attacked Mi

Tang during campaigning for Singa-

pore's elections on January 2, call-

ing the little-known lawyer a

hinese chauvinist who threatened

the delicate harmony between the

island's Chinese, Malay and Indian

When he replied by calling PAP

eaders liars and threatening to sue

Last week's injunction follows a

barrage of defamation suits brought

against Mr Tang, aged 61, by the prime minister, Goh Chok Tong,

the senior minister, Lee Kuan Yew,

two deputy prime ministers and seven other PAP members. Minis-

ters attack Mr Tang's credibility on

or libel, legal battle was joined.

in Bangkok

to bankrupt

gress won power in 1994, President Mandela refused to release the report, because he considered it could eopardise the country's stability. Recently, however, he gave a copy to Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Truth and Reconciliation Commis-

ing apartheid. A leaked copy of a summary rawn up by commission officials shows the country was dangerously close to losing control of elements of the military and police in the runup to the majority-rule elections.

It confirms the involvement of commando units in random vio-

by the Seventh Medical Division by hit squads, and the supply of arms and training to the Zuludominated Inkatha movement. The truth commission document

says evidence was given to General Pierre Steyn, the head of the investision to help its inquiry into illegal gation, that destabilisation of the activities by the security forces durcountries was planned "to enable the military to step in credibly to create order".

Preparations for this allegedly in volved stockpiling arms in countries which included Kenya, Zambia, Mauritius and Portugal, to create "springboards" for possible military action. It said there was "a sugges-

When the African National Con- | lence, the use of poison — supplied | tion that there was close contact with the British SAS".

The SAS has been previously linked to "dirty tricks" operations it South Africa. A group of SAS officers working for a private security firm in Britain were hired by wealthy conservationists in the late 1980s to come to South Africa to fight elephant and rhinoceros poachers. They became involved with local intelligence agencies and eportedly took part in paramilitary

Kas Enterprises, the British security firm involved, was owned by Sir David Stirling — the founder of the SAS - and taken over after his

South Africa was headed by Ian Crooke, who led the SAS charge into the Iranian embassy in London at the bloody climax of the 1980

**INTERNATIONAL NEWS** 5

Kensington siege.

David Fairhall adds: Formal military contacts between Britain and South Africa were not restored until 1993. All official exchanges of military personnel were covered by an embargo that had been in force since 1975, the Ministry of Defence confirmed last week.

SAS sources said they would not be surprised at unofficial involvement by former members of the regiment as mercenaries. In particular, veterans of the regiment's old C Squadron, recruited in the former Rhodesia, tended to drift into South Africa, where they often became

### than 3,000 detained in connection with the assassination attempt on Uday. The reports spoke of those held dwindling budget now going to the | including relatives of the president | the ropes.

"Saddam's regime is more scared

of people operating from within the

country," said Ahmad Challabi of

the London-based Iraqi National

Congress opposition umbrella or-

ganisation. The problem is not a

quarrel in the family but the inabil-

internal opposition

tary officials.

ity of the security services to handle

Last week a leading Iraqi opposi-

tion figure said President Saddam's

security forces had arrested about

600 people since the attack on Uday,

including more than 20 senior mili-

AP adds: Six middle-ranking Iraqi

officers have been executed and

dozens arrested for plotting against

the regime, the Iran-based Supreme

Council for the Islamic Revolution

in Iraq said on Monday, while the

dissident Voice of Iraq radio station,

also in Iran, reported that five offi-

cers had been executed and more

HECHENIA'S new president, ✓ who received congratulations over the weekend from Russian President Boris Yeltsin, will be sworn into office next week.

Aslan Maskhadov, a guerrilla commander considered a moderate y Russian leaders, won an overwhelming victory in elections last month. He has pledged to pursue full independence for the small Muslim republic, though Moscow says it will not tolerate Chechenia's secession. The two sides could hold appears willing to offer the compromises necessary to lead to a break-

Moderates in Russia breathed a sigh of relief after it became clear that Mr Maskhadov, who had nego-tiated the end of Chechenia's 21month war against Russian forces, had won the elections. He scored a clear triumph over his main rival,

Mr Maskhadov's margin of victory meant there was no second round run-off, which many feared could have led to violence. Pronouncing himself president as votes were still being counted, Mr Maskhadov said that his first task because her life was in danger from the people she allegedly employed | he insisted that his country's inde-PHOTO SEEGIO POLITORIEFO I pendence was already a fact that

as both a tough fighter and shrewl negotiator, capable of compromis with his loes.

He used his short political career as prime minister of a coalition gov ernment — formed as the Russian were pulling out - to court tradtionally pro-Moscow and anti-spe ratist Chechen villages in the north

the republic voted for M Maskhadov. At his first press conference, he promised to guarantee their satety and that of Cossack arms to protect themselves.

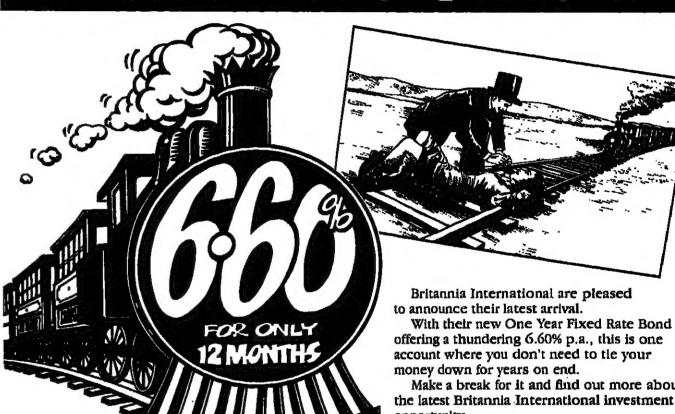
Mr Basayev, who became notorious when in 1995, as a field con-

The "Mareva injunction" issued by the court effectively prevents Mr Tang making any financial transac-tions without obtaining its consent. Lawyers say the court evidently agreed that PAP leaders had a good case when proposing the sum, which represents damages and legal costs Mr Tang faces if he loses hardline forces which have gath-

Singapore's Inland Revenue Authority has seized documents from Mr Tang's home and office as part of an investigation into his tax

Mr Tang said last week he was costs of his defence. He called the legal actions an abuse of court process and accused PAP leaders of rying to "bury" him politically and financially. The deputy prime minis ter, Lee Hsien Loong, said that awyers were examining the comment as possible grounds for mother defamation suit.

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Threat to new SA abortion clinics

Ruaridh Nicoll Pro-Life South Africa. in Johannesburg NTI-ABORTION activists A NTI-ABURTION activists
Warned on Monday of a "potential for violence" as hospitals and health clinics in South Africa began performing abortions, which became legal for the first time last weekend.

Patrizia Regginni, ex-wife of the murdered businessman Maurizio

Gucci, at police HQ in Milan. Italian police brought forward her arrest

"By forcing people to become accessories to murder — by paying for abortions through their taxes — the government has upped the ante and left very few democratic avenues for people Doctors and healthcare of goodwill to follow," said Dr

bude Newbury, presi

The African National Congress pushed through its termination of pregnancy bill late last year after imposing a three-line whip to stave off opposition among its parliamentarians, many of whom were troubled by the law, which is described as the world's most liberal.

It allows abortion on demand up to 12 weeks into the pregnancy, and up to 20 weeks with a doctor's consent. Minors do not require parental consent.

this issue.

he needs of their patients." Ms Recs is based at Baragwanath Hospital in Soweto, which is the biggest in the world. She expects that

that the ANC has diverged from — some might even say leapt ahend of — public opinion on

"The country is deeply religious and at the community level quite conservative," said Helen Rees, a maternity care consultent. We are sending nurses to workshops so that they can separate their own beliefs from

strongly that there was one law about 200 abortions a week will for the affluent and another for be performed in the township, the poor - that had to go." South Africa's largest, at the only be carried out if the woma clinic. It is predicted that was a victim of rape or incest of between 208 and 520 foetuses was physically or mentally at

live births. Polls have long shown that both blacks and whites are overwhelmingly opposed to abortion. Dr Newbury claims to have a list of 500 doctors who will refuse to carry out the operation or give women advice on where to go.

will be aborted for every 1,000

"We knew that the law would be very liberal," said Paul Cornelissen, programme director for Marie Stopes South Africa. "The ANC felt very

Comment, page 12 Le Monde, page 13

thought.



The US this week

Martin Walker

RESIDENT Clinton quoted the old weasel words of Richard Nixon to admit that mistakes were made", and to regret the "inappropriate" use of the White House and of federal officials in campaign fund-raising. He then committed himself to enacting a bipartisan bill to reform the system.

"The problem is the sheer volume of money, the time it takes to raise it, and the way it all raises too many questions. We must all share responsibility for the excesses," he sald. "I take mine."

The bulk of the first press confercuce of Clinton's second term hinged on the Issue of campaign finances and corruption, quite over-whelming the president's attempt to spell out his ambitious education reform plans and some important statements on foreign policy.

But the issue of campaign finance, and the prospect that these scandals might overshadow his second term, as Whitewater darkened the first, dominated the public relaunch of the Clinton presidency. It began with Clinton's admission that it had been wrong to hold White house coffee mornings devised to raise party funds, to which federal banking regulators were invited along with the private bankers who

were being targeted for donations. There was one escape route for Clinton, and he took it, arguing with spirit and with justice that the Republican pot was just as black as his own kettle. Indeed, the Republican senator in charge of the congressional inquiry into the fund-raising scandals of Clinton and the Demoand Senate leaders.

describes the "day at the White laws. While Clinton and Gingrich ton dinner parties of late have been are urging just such a bipartisan enlivened by the little ditty: the vantage point of some of the donors who raised \$250,000 to enjoy their summer afternoon at the White House. They were welcomed to roam the house and grounds, use the putting green and tennis courts before what was billed as the oldtime Arkansas-style barbecue in Bill n' Hillary's yard.

The names of these privileged donors were culled from a project known as WhoDB (White House Office Data Base), in which the names of 355,000 Democratic donors were matched with their birthdate (for cards), interests and whether or not they were also members of the Hillary Clinton Official Fan Club. whether they were available to make up crowds when the Clintons prrived at an airport and so on.

The Republican cash-generating systems were equally brazen, even without the special allure of the White House. The "season ticket holders" who paid \$250,000 to the Republican party were offered private meetings with Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and Senate leader Trent Lott, a special skybox serving champagne and caviare at the Republican convention in San Diego, breakfast with candidate Bob Dole and other favours. The real prize, however, was "support personnel in Washington DC to help with any party-related request", which included use of an office and phone at Republican party HQ, and the services of party staffers to arrange meetings with top politi-

Senator Fred Thompson, the new chairman of the government affairs committee, confirmed that he had agreed with the senior Democrat on the committee, Senator John Glenn of Ohio, that the special hearings into the campaign finance scandal would include the Republi-

"I am trying to strike a tone that this will be handled with a firm hand but fairly," Senator Thompson said, adding that his probe would be "even-handed" and the Democrats would be given staff and a budget to run their parallel inquiries into the in Haiti and Bosnia. But Cohen had

The mutual embarrassment of both political parties raises the prospect of a compromise, in which each side agrees to draw a line

truce, zealots on both sides are out for blood.

The shameless nature of the process, which is arousing growing complaints from the corporations and shareholders who finance the political system, is also spilling over into dangerous and potentially criminal territory. The FBI director, Louis Freeh, confirmed that he has assigned a 25-agent task force to investigate the Democrats' Asian-American fund-raiser John Huang and his work at the commerce department, and to check if his security clearances were misused.

It was a relief to turn from all this to a party in a place that is one of the best kept secrets of Washington. Behind the depressingly boring concrete shoebox of the US state department lurks a hidden jewel. The seventh floor is power, where the secretary of state and powerbrokers dwell, but the eighth floor is a Potemkin palace of 18th century

Nestling within the concrete shell are a series of reception and dining and ballrooms in which Mozart or Metternich would have felt entirely at home. The walls are panelled in expensive woods. Until they roll it up for dancing, they boast that the carpet in the ballroom is the largest

Corelli, and white wine and smoked salmon canapés being handed around, it was a perfect place for Madeleine Albright to throw her private celebration. And it was interesting that among her friends, family and academic colleagues was her fellow newcomer to the very highest council of state, the former Republican senator-turned-defence secretary, William Cohen.

In her brief remarks to all those present, the new secretary of state noted: "I believe in the possibility of a marriage of force and diplomacy." Quite so. She saw how well an American military presence worked been at pains in his own remarks that week to stress his deep caution about the deployment of US troops.

The consequent prospect of a

"Troops Away!," cries Madeleine A.

"They're not goin"!," retorts Bill

Cohen. Ms Albright therefore used her party to defuse the situation, pretending to see him sidling out of the room as she began talking of the happy union of force and diplomacy, and calling out to him gaily, "Caught vou just in time".

"I'll only ask for American troops when it's really necessary," she cajoled him.

The room chuckled indulgently, recalling her battles with the former chairman of the joint chiefs of staff, General Colin Powell, It is now the conventional wisdom among the Clinton intimates that his presidency only began to recover after Powell retired, to be replaced by the less pompous, less insubordinate and less political General John Shalikashvili. But there are two points to bear

in mind, Gen Shalikashvili succeeded because Clinton's first defence secretary, Les Aspin, was sacked and that wily old owl William Perry was brought in to add some much-needed ballast to Clinton's national security team. Second, the general retires this year, and so does his obvious successor, the Nato supreme commander, General George Joulwan.

Given the damage a badly run Pentagon did him in his first two string quartets sawing away at some pleasant take a risk in appointing a new chairman of the joint chiefs to join an untried defence secretary in Cohen. And like Clinton himself. Cohen is no veteran, obtaining the usual student and marriage deferments from military service in the Vietnam war.

It is also worth noting that the new defence secretary has never run anything larger than the mayor's office in the small town of Bangor, in Maine, Cohen is now responsible for more than 2 million military and civilian personnel and a budget of \$260 billion (about the size of the entire Netherlands eco-

He is also a poet who writes rather lurid verses about the horror of nuclear war. For example:

Suppose the earth became a ball And flamed until it cindered into

Bill

The earth was boiled in one atomic

Human beings may rejoice that such a sensibility now sits in the Pentagon's hot seat; hard-faced mili tary men may take another view. despite the reputation that Cohen carefully cultivated in the Senate of being a modest hawk. In fact, as a senator, he was remarkably out of touch with Clinton's policies.

Cohen differs strikingly from Clinton over missile defence systems, which most of us still know as Star Wars. He wants to go ahead and build one quickly, and has hinted that he thinks that Clinton's CIA appointees were politically nobbled and made to issue intelligence estimates saying there would be no serious threat from rogue states to

S A SENATOR, he was wonderfully cruel about the Clintonite dithering over Bosnia, skewering them splendidly with the accusation that their various spokesmen were "indulging mocked their claim that the troops would be out within a year, and that the goals in the Balkans were shifting "like a shimmering mirage in the desert".

He also voted to curtail the president's authority to send US troops on peacekeeping missions. Politi cally, he was even sharper, accusing the Clinton White House of having "a smell of Watergate - this admin istration has a lot to answer for".

Apart from the fact that he is the kind of Republican fig-leaf who allows Clinton to pontificate about his nobly bipartisan administration being above the usual squalor of party politics, one wonders what or earth Cohen is doing in the Climon cabinet. Except for one thing: the Republican party found this feisily independent fellow to be equally

Cohen was the first Republican congressman to break party ranks and turn against Richard Nixon during the Watergate hearings. H turned against Ronald Reagan dur ing the Iran-Contra scandals, saying Reagan "conducted the office as if he were an absentee landlord, while the tenants were running around smashing the windows and breaking up the furniture".

A complex and intriguing man who once wanted to be a Latin teacher and who hikes for pleasure Cohen does not quite fit in either political party, in rather the same way that as a boy he felt rejected b the religions of his parents: h mother was Irish Protestant, and hi father the son of a Russian Jewish immigrant who founded the small family bakery.

Cohen was studying Hebrew for his barmitzvah when the rabbi found he had not been circumcised, and rather than submit to the operation, Cohen rejected the religion.
"That was my turning point. Now

knew I was in this alone, and I didn't have to be part of anything that I didn't want to be.

Now he has chosen to be the token Republican in a Democratic administration whose policies he questions, helping run a foreign policy he doubts, in harness with military professionals yet to be appointed, for a president whose ethics remind him of Watergate. Even without Albright's assertive and interventionist style, Cohen is in for a bumpy ride. Still, given the unpleasantness of congression politics and the rising stench from fund-raising swamp, he must feel he has escaped into cleaner air.

### Iran hatches anti-Bonn plot Fear cloaks brutality of

ian Traynor in Bonn

Arafat's police

VUSSEF ISMAIL BABA, a 32-

year-old Palestinian business

man from the West Bank city of

Nablus, died last Saturday after

being beaten by police. On Sunday his family demanded justice and

smashed the doors of the Rafidia

hospital where doctors had failed to

The hospital authorities re-

sponded by asking Palestinian

police, armed with sub-machine

guns, to patrol the premises, includ-

ing the autopsy room where Baba's

The real target of the Baba fam-

ily's anger is the Palestinian secret

police, who tortured him so severely

that he suffered massive internal

bleeding. "It was a combination of

beatings and aggravated ulcers that

caused his death," said a member of

the hospital's medical staff, adding

that Baba had severe bruising and

lacerations down the entire right-

Yet no doctor is prepared publicly

o accuse Yasser Arafat's secret

police of Baba's death, the 12th in

custody since the control of West

Bank cities and the Guza Strip was

handed over to the Palestinian

During the intituda, Palestinian

doctors and nurses were willing to

provide information about Israeli

atrocities and the injuries suffered

by the Palestinian population under

occupation. Today the all-pervasive

fear of Palestinian security forces

means no one will be quoted by

Everyone remembers the case of

the Gaza psychiatrist and human rights activist, Dr Iyad Sirraj, who

enraged Mr Arafat last summer by

telling the foreign press that human

rights abuses under the Palestinian

Authority surpassed those of the Is-

raelis. Dr Sirraj's defiance led to his

imprisonment without trial. He was

tortured in prison until international

Yussef Baba was at home on New

Year's Day when he received a note

asking him to look in at police head-

quarters. That was the last his

brothers, Saeed, Suleiman, Omar

and Mahmoud, saw of him until they were invited to view his body in

"We asked after him every single

lay," said Saced, a blacksmith in the

Nablus kasbah. "Every day they

would tell us it was just a routine

investigation and he would be

released the following day." After a

month, the brothers contacted a

local human rights group, which discovered that Baba was dead. He

had never appeared before a judge,

Hospital authorities say Baba was

admitted three times during his

time he was suffering from bleeding

ulcers and doctors advised that he

be allowed to stay in hospital. They

were overruled by police on every

"Several Palestinians have been

killed as a result of torture under

interrogation," said Law, the Pales-

linku Society for the Protection of

Human Rights and the Environ-

ment, "Palestinian security services

have been known to use many meth-

ods of torture, including severe beat-

ings, burning with eigarettes or hot

froms, and sleep deprivation."

month-long stay in prison.

nor had his arrest been explained.

pressure led to his release.

the hospital morgue.

hand side of his body.

Authority.

resuscitate him.

Shyam Bhatla in Nablus

PROMINENT Iranian newspaper editor disappeared last week, leaving behind a letter detailing his secret arrest and torture last year by Iranian secret police, who forced him to pretend he was a spy for the German government.

Faraj Sarkuhi's ordeal was designed to turn him into blackmail material for use against the German government. The aim was to secure a favourable verdict in a terror trial in Berlin, which would otherwise probably convict top Iranian officials for state terrorism in Germany.

The judgment in the trial, repeatedly postponed, is expected in April.

In the trial, one Iranian and four | While he was in detention, they Lebanese are accused of murdering faked his departure to Germany. three Iranian Kurds in a Berlin restaurant in September 1992.

In connection with the murders. German prosecutors have also issued an international arrest warrant for Iran's intelligence chief, Ali Fallahian. The German security services believe Mr Faliahian linked to official terror operations mounted by the Iranian embassy in Bonn, suspected of being the headquarters of Iran's intelligence operaions in Europe.

detailing the plot, and expressing foreboding about his fate. It was dated January 3. Mr Sarkuhi and his brother have not been heard from since January 27, and there are fears for his life.

The secret police, Mr Sarkuhi said in his letter, arrested then tortured and interrogated him for 47

and then forced him to declare at a press conference in Tehran on December 20 that he had been out of sight because he had been in Germany. He was released after the press conference, and during his period of liberty he wrote his letter

The Berlin daily paper, Tages-zeitung, which obtained the full text of the letter, said last week that Mr days last November and December. | Sarkuhi's mother in Tehran received

a call from the secret police, "We had one of your children and now we have two," she was reportedly told. In the letter, Mr Sarkuhi wrote: "I

don't know what to write. The end is near. If someone gets hold of this three days after my arrest or one day after my death so she can pub-

Mr Sarkuhi spent years in jail under the Shah of Iran and is a prominent member of a group of 134 intellectuals who signed a 1994 petition calling for the establish-

He said that during his detention he was forced to sign statements saying he was a German spy, confessions of marital infidelity, and statements that incriminated his



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\$100,000	5.60	6.35	5.35	6.10
\$50,000	5.45	6.20	5.20	5.95
\$25,000	5.25	6.00	5.00	5.75
000,012	4.75	5.50	4.50	5.25
THE BASED ON WITH	IDPAWALS IN THE YEAR END: IF EED BONUS ATEREST MAY	SOO ON THE DAY FRICH TO ANALYSE OF WIGHTPAWN DURING CALEND	SARY OF ACCOUNT CHEMAN	IG ALL BONUS HIRREST ADDED

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small crack, if not a breach, being crats has been driven to promise a parallel probe into his own party, under the latest scandals and pass the bipartisan McCain-Feingold bill opened between them was too the bipartisan McCain-Feingold bill tempting for Washington's mischief-to reform the campaign finance makers to avoid. Indeed, Washingafter new revelations of cash-foraccess deals to Republican House With exquisite symmetry, the The Pot Calling the Kettle ... a hot tub. Republicans were charging the big corporations \$250,000 for special services, which included their own dedicated "support personnel" at party HQ, exactly the same sum paid to the Democrats by fat cats enjoying a day, or a night, at the White House. No fewer than 75 corporate leaders signed up for the deal, and ter on some - led by the embattled tobacco companies and by the cable TV and telecommunications groups that feared new legislation - paid far more. Phillip Morris was the biggest of all, giving more than \$2.5 million to the Republicans. Each new day brings more revelations of an ever more breathtaking nature about the way in which both parties last year shook down cor-Newt porate America for unprecedented sums of money, which saw the Republicans raise \$141 million and the Democrats \$122 million in unregu-lated "soft money" A report in the latest New Yorker

# **Commons farce leaves Tories out for the count**

youth could, it seems, be extended to MPs. This explains why Labour won a bogus one-vote Commons vic tory in defeating a move to expand grant-maintained schools, It turned out later that a Tory whip, Tony Coombs, had miscounted, and that the result should have been a tie.

Labour had nothing to smirk about. Mr Coumbs's figure was checked by a Labour whip, Joe Benton, who also miscounted. The Conservatives asked for a rerun of the vote, but Labour declined. So the Government's plan to increase the number of grant-maintained schools — a key part of its Education Bill suffered in unnecessary defeat.

There was much huffing and puffing by both sides. Labour's leader, Tony Blair, purported to see the fiasco as further evidence of a burnt-out government in disarray. The Printe Minister accused Mr Blair and his shadow social services secretary, Harriet Harman, of hypocrisy in sending their children to grant-maintained schools while denying that choice to others.

Both might have done better to worry about the antiquated Commons method of counting MPs' heads as they shuffle through voting lobbies. But okl-timers still cherish these areane procedures, and it does the Opposition's morale a power of good to inflict symbolic "defeats" on the Government in the run-up to the election.

SUSPICIONS of internal Conservative party politicking were aired when the Commons was told that the Naafi (Navy, Army and Air Force Institutes) was to lose 2,000 jobs in Britain and Germany because a £400 million contract to supply food for the armed forces had gone to a private firm.

Millions of ex-Service personnel have fond memories of the Naafi a non-profit-making company operating under government charter which has fed and entertained the armed forces for 75 years.

The Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo — aiready embroiled in controversy over plans to spend £60 million on a new royal yacht — evidently knew nothing about it. And fingers were pointed at Michael Heseltine, Deputy Prime Minister and a rival to Mr Portillo in any future contest for the Tory leadership.

Mr Heseltine is responsible for the presentation of Government policy. A Tory backbencher, Robert Key, who will lose 600 Naafi jobs in iis Salisbury constituency, wanted to know which ministers knew and, by implication, which were not told - about awarding the food contract to an outside hidder. Was it a ploy to east Mr Portillo, darling of the Tory right, in the role of villain?

BOWING to pressure from con-sumer groups and Opposition MPs, the Government is to set up an independent council of scientists and safety experts to try to restore public confidence in British food and agricultural produce after the scares over E. coli, salmonella, listeria and cases of Creutzfeldt-Jakob Disease linked to BSE.

The Agriculture Minister, Douglas

EGULAR attacks on the poor I Hogg, said that the council, which will not be appointed until after the general election, was necessary because the public no longer believed assurances on food safety by ministers and civil servants. This arises largely because the Government. through its Ministry of Agriculture. Fisheries and Food, is felt to be too close to farming and food manufacturing interests.

But the Consumers' Association complained that the council's role would still only be advisory, and its powers too limited.

NIVERSITIES may ask students to sign "good behaviour" contracts as a condition of registration. This would be in return for formal agreements by universities and colleges covering high quality teaching and research, and arbitration procedures for complaints.

The idea is one of several being considered by vice-chancellors and principals, who are seeking contractual agreements with students that are more formal and universal than the present hotels-potch of loose agreements, which lead to disputes and legal action.

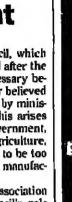
A more urgent problem, though cash. The Further Education Funding Council and the Department of Education, having failed to keep tabs on the size of the college population, has "discovered" the total to be 350,000 more than they thought. The Treasury is threatening not to pay the extra £84 million ow considered necessary.

THE AMBITION of Diana. Princess of Wales, to be taken seriously as an ambassador for good causes, will receive a boost when BBC Television devotes a half-hour programme to her recent visit to Angola, where she campaigned against land-mines on behalf of the International Red Cross.

In her TV confessions of marital strife and adultery in 1995, she expressed a wish to assume a role as "queen of people's hearts" seen by some as the words of a manipulative woman in search of status to replace her lost royalty. But

As though to emphasise her new role, the princess plans to auction designer cast-offs from her wardrobe to raise £1 million for Aids and caucer charities.





David Sharrock

HOUSANDS of

the numbers as high as 20,000.

Sinn Fein's Martin McGuinness told the parade: "This is the largest demonstration I have ever seen. It's demonstration for justice, it is people recalling what happened 25 years ago when British terrorists came into the city, murdered 14 people, were decorated by the British queen and got away with it."



# Bloody Sunday inquiry rejected

marched through Londonderry on Sunday in the largest commemoration yet of Bloody Sunday, 25 years after British soldiers killed 14 unarmed civilians during an illegal civil rights parade.

The emotionally charged event was marked by a government rebuff to calls for a new investigation into the killings, pleas for the IRA to restore their ceasefire, and claims that Sinn Fein had hijacked the commemoration. Some estimates put

Earlier, the Sinn Fein president. Gerry Adams, called on John Major to reopen the inquiry. The entire British establishment was involved in a cover-up

The SDLP leader John Hume was present at the ceremony. He recalled Bloody Sunday as "the most traumatic day in the lifetime of every citizen in this city and certainly in mine as their representative". The pain went very deep, he said. Therefore it's extremely important

that the total innocence of the people is formally established." The Democratic Unionist leader in the city, Gregory Campbell, said: "Quite obviously the paratroopers took action that they ought not to have taken and innocent people died. but every year since that Sinn Fein

and the IRA manipulate this event." On Monday the campaign for a new inquiry was given support by a former Northern Ireland minister Sir Nicholas Scott. He said: "I think

happened on Bloody Sunday an reawakened . . . Widgery I don't think was a satisfactory inquiry . . . I really do think the time has come that we try to find out what the truth really was."

 The Government raised temperatures in the run-up to the marching season in Northern Ireland by pro ducing a fudge over the Drumerer report. The Northern Ireland Secretary, Sir Patrick Mayhew, respond ing to a review of parades and marches chaired by Peter North. accepted a proposal to set up a parades commission to mediate i disputes. But, crucially, he delayed a decision on whether it should b allowed to re-route or ban marches

The compromise pleased none of the Northern Ireland parties and brought dire predictions of trouble in the months ahead.

# **Working mums blamed** for children's failures

Luke Harding

CHILDREN whose mothers work full-time are twice as likely to fail their exams as those with mothers working part-time, according to new research.

A two-year university study identifies "middle-class deprivation among families where both parents choose to work full-time. Their children perform worse at school than their peers, despite the benefits of a dual income. The findings, which corroborate US research, come as more women return to work as early as possible, and rely on daycare and namies to bring up their children.

The North London universit study of 600 families in east London showed that 11 per cent of children with mothers in part-time work left school with no GCSEs. But the figure more than doubled to 25 per cent among children whose mothers worked full-time, All the families studied had fathers in full-time work.

Margaret O'Brian, who carried out the survey, described the results as "disturbing". She Identifies a "critical time" immediately after school when children return home and want to talk through their day. Some 36 per cent of children | under five now work.

whose mothers have no job fail all their GCSEs. But researchers point to the fact that these children frequently come from homes where academic expectation is low.

Tony Evans, headmaster of feepaying Portsmouth Grammar School, said he was concerned that professionals were neglecting their children. Mr Evans spoke of children being left to "graze from refrigerators" and said they could be made to feel "secondary"

But Sally Witcher, director of the Child Poverty Action Group, took issue with the survey's findings and questioned its methodology. "Very often women work full-time because they have to, to keep the family afloat. That is something which should be commended and not criticised," she said.

And a spokeswoman for the National Union of Teachers said: "What every child needs is interest and support from parents, whether the parents go to work or stay at home. We don't know in this survey what other factors may have an effect."

Since 1984 the number of women in full-time employment has increased by two-thirds. More than 40 per cent of mothers with children

# Eurosceptic deselected

○ IR George Gardiner threatener Oto plunge the Conservative Party into a long and embarrassing legal wrangle last week after he was deselected by his local constituency n Reigate, Surrey, write Lawrence Donegan and Rebecca Smithers.

An ardent Eurosceptic and one of lohn Major's most troubleson backbenchers, Sir George, aged 6 lost his selection battle by 272 votes to 213 at a fractious meeting of the constituency party called after he accused the Prime Minister of being Chancellor Kenneth Clarke's "yen-

triloquist's dummy" on Europe.
Outside the meeting hall, Tory party members squabbled with the MP's supporters, claiming the selection meeting had been packed with "£1-a-head entryists".

Sir George's attempt to seek reinstatement later failed after members of the local party blocked his supporters' call for a meeting challenging his deselection.

He had hoped to head off the Toffee-nosed Tendency among Reigate Tories". But the failure of the delaying tactic paves the way fo the local Conservative association to press ahead with its plans to have a new candidate in place by the end of the month.

Clarke gambles on

public sector pay

**Quardian Reporters** 

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

HE Chancellor, Kenneth Clarke, is to urge the Cabinet to take a high-risk preelection gamble by staggering pay awards for 1.3 million public sector workers, including nurses, teachers and the armed forces.

He will call on ministerial colleagues to cushion the costs of the awards after independent pay review bodies recommended rises of hetween 3.2 and 3.4 per cent — well above government spending plans.

the public workers welcoming the relatively high overall increases. But a spokesman for the Royal College of Nursing warned: "Nurses will be disappointed about being asked to wait for even this pay increase after a year of having to

battle for a fair rise of any kind." The review bodies cover more than 700,000 nurses, doctors and therapists in the health service, as well as teachers, service personnel, and senior civil servants, including

Nurses are in line for a national average increase of 3.3 per cent, teachers 3.25 per cent, doctors 3.4 per cent, and the armed forces 3.3 per cent. With the Government trailing badly in the polls, ministers would be sorely tempted to award such rises in full ahead of the general election. But such expediency would run counter to Mr Clarke's prudent instincts.

Health service leaders warned that hospital and community health services would be crippled by the costs of increases of more than 3 per cent for a full year from April 1. Staggering the increases would

ease the impact on NHS trusts in 1997-98. However, the full costs would be inescapable after the second part of the rises kicked in. Much of the attention on the pay awards, which were due to be offi-

attracted considerable sympathy last year when they were awarded a national increase of 2 per cent compared with up to 6.8 per cent for doctors.

Mr Clarke will be hoping that anger over staggering a 3.3 per cent rise this year would be curbed by nurses' satisfaction that the award represented a swing back from the much-hated local pay determination.

Mr Clarke will argue in Cabinet that staggering the pay awards would put the spotlight on Labour. But Gurdon Brown, the shadow chancellor, said that a Labour government would not fund the inflation-busting rises.

Risking confrontation with the unions, Mr Brown insisted there would be no "blank cheques" for public sector workers. He is deternined to keep tight control on public spending should Labour win the

Leftwingers in the party made it clear that they expected Mr Brown to pay the awards in full. Mr Brown, owever, did not rule out the option of staging the awards - even though Labour in the past has rejected such an approach.

The Defence Secretary, Michael Portillo, is facing the most difficulty in the pay settlement row. He has not budgeted enough cash to pay the 227,000 servicemen and women the expected 3.3 per cent increase.

Mr Portillo, who claimed that Labour would impose huge defence cuts, gave away £460 million to the Treasury in November after officials pointed out that he had overspent his planned budget by £700 million this year.

Mr Portillo will now have to plead with Mr Clarke to raid the £2.5 billion government reserves before the election, or tell disgruntled service personnel they will have to have a phased award, with no full implementation until October or



Labour proposes to bring back school uniforms to give pupils a sense of identity

**UK NEWS** 9

### Schools' adviser defends 'bad teacher' claims

John Carvel

HRIS WOODHEAD, the chief inspector of schools, was coming under pressure this week to explain evidence that he may have exaggerated numbers of inadequate teachers to support his theories that children were being let down by the failure of progressive classroom methods.

He said a year ago that statisticians at the Office for Standards in Education were able to deduce from inspection evidence about the number of poor lessons that there were 15,000 "incompetent" teachers. This amounted to more than 4 per cent of the teaching force.

It became a central plank in his campaign to lift standards, in spite of complaints from the Teacher Training Agency that his criticism was becoming counter-productive. Tony Blair was so keen to align Labour to the Ofsted view that he confirmed that Mr Woodhead would remain in office under Labour. However, according to its annual

ported only a handful of staff to | the improved performance has head teachers under procedures ordered by the Prime Minister.

This will confirm figures provided to Don Foster, the Liberal Democrat education spokesman, showing that none of the lessons inspected between April 1996 and January 1997 could be regarded as "very poor" and only I per cent were "poor"

Mr Woodhead stood by the estimate of 15,000 Incompetent teachers, saying: "I have no reason to pelieve that it was statistically insecure." But his main emphasis was to cast doubt on his own inspectors' judgment in reporting so few poor teachers. "It is always difficult to confront another human being and say: 'sorry, but I think there are problems with your professionalsm'," he said.

Meanwhile better national results for 11-year-olds showed that tests were succeeding in driving up standards in the classroom, Nick Tate, the Government's chief curriculum adviser, said last week.

Schools knew the results would be published in league tables, and | educational values.

increased pressure on Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, to publish tables for seven-venr-olds.

But Mr Tate denied the better results were due to league table pressure. "You cannot necessarily turn your teaching around overnight. There is a new sense of urgency that is happening, irrespective of league tables, that schools need to be institutions with a culture of continuous improvement."

He was speaking after analysis of the 1996 results showed no inprovenient for seven- and 14-year olds. Spelling, grammar and mental arithmetic are still giving such cause for concern that special axipers are to be set this summer to test them.

 Labour would encourage schools to bring back compulsory uniforms to help rebuild a sense of identity and discipline, David Blunkett, the shadow education secretary, said last week in a further move to associate the party with traditional

# Pre-Electoral Tension reaches fever pitch

Simon Hoggart

A STHE hubbub in the Chamber grew, Betty Booth-royd rose. There were, she said,

"a lot of members of this House who have a good deal of Pre-Electoral Tension". The Speaker was right. PET has much in common with PMT. There are the same blinding flashes, hot flushes, rages, tears

and recriminations. But the worst sufferer from PMT is a nodel of calm rationality compared with the Commons in its present mood. There is a manic edge to it, which I recall from my days as a football fan. The madness comes from the group's single-minded obsession, simulncously feeding on it and

making it more intense. For one side to concede that the other might have a point would be impossible, even if any voice could be heard through the barrage of noise, the acreambites which have taken over from the sound-bites. It would be like calling "Three cheers for our

week's rows was over the single European currency, a topic on which the two main parties' views are hard to separate. There are minor variations, some shading in the dogma, but both believe that on the single currency we should wait and see what happens. This has nothing to do with the national interest. but is meant to keep Eurosceptics of both right and left

pliant until after the election. But the closer the parties are, the more they pretend to detest each other. Last week it was Tony Blair's turn to go mad. He starts calmly enough, but those of us who have lived with him for years know the signs, and we mentally hoist the storm cones. (In Hong Kong I was told that people in tower blocks know a typhoon is coming when the water begins to slosh about in the toilet bowls. The Commons bathrooms must have been awash.)

Mr Blair said that a few weeks ago Mr Major had said he expected Tory candidates to

open" policy. "Is that still your Most bizarre of all, one of last expectation of Conservative

> Mr Major flannelled about how there were plenty of Eurosceptics on the Labour side (true), about how Mr Blair's position had changed (also true), how he said one thing in public and another in private (probably true).
>
> Mr Blair ignored all this and

demanded to know why the Prime Minister could not even urge his own candidates to support his own policy. Then his voice rose to a screech, a bit like the end of a Tina Turner song. "Wenki Wenk! Wenk!" he

shouted, pointing at the Tory benches in the manner of a football hooligan. (Is he like this at home? "How would you like your tea, dear?" "Weak, weak, weak!"; "What veneer do you auggest for our new coffee table?" "Teak! Teak! Teak!")

But it worked. On the BBC Six O'Clock news, the "Weak!" scream-bite easily fended off Mr Major's waffling. It's not the time of the month; they are all on their electoral cycle.

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The UN secretary-general, Kofi Annan, denounced anti-personnel mines as "weapons of terror" and called on the 61 conference states to negotiate a total ban.

But Britain's ambassador, Sir Michael Weston, argued that an agreement prohibiting the export of mines was a practical start and could be achieved before the current session ends in September.

Relief agencies, helped by the Princess Diana's recent well-publicised support, have put intense pressure on the British government to take an uncompromising lead.

But the Government argues that the call for a total ban serves little purpose unless the big producers, such as China, Russia and India, are persuaded to implement it.

Although Britain's objective is complete ban on the production, use and export of anti-personnel mines, a Foreign Office minister, David Davis, also made the case for a step-by-step approach. We are starting with an export ban because we believe this is the fastest way to get moving towards the goal of a total ban," he said.

An Oxfam spokesman said: "The danger is that the Geneva move will prove to be a loss-leader and will in effect slow down the achievement of

# College mars Britain's image

David Hencke

A FORMER college principal was condemned last week for presiding over a "seriously flawed" £1.4 million overseas student opera-tion which has tarnished Britain's

academic reputation abroad.

The National Audit Office says that police are now investigating possible widespread abuse and fraud in the running of Swansea Institute of Higher Education's over-

seas student courses in Malaysia, Indonesia, China and Kenya. Gerald Stockdale, aged 58, re-signed as principal after a vote of no confidence by the governing body last year. The vice-principal, Hywel Rees, has been suspended pending

an internal inquiry.

The auditors' investigation says that Dr Stockdale was found to have spent at least £65,000 on 33 trips -18 of them described as "ill-judged" - to launch the courses.

He also negotiated a £314,000 pay-off if he was dismissed, giving him three years' salary and an enhanced pension. However, when he resigned last year he received £127,000 — six months' salary and

seven years' enhanced pension.
The report concluded: 'The United Kingdom has an outstanding reputation for the quality of the courses that it offers to overseas | to Shirley Wilson's correct finger shidents. It is therefore regrettable and cruising through the responses, able and we had no reason to doubt that the arrangements at the insti-

# Oxfam sees | Hunger strikers close to death

NIGERIAN on hunger strike, lying close to death in Rochester prison, Kent, last week agreed to medical treatment as ministers dropped their plans to move 200 immigration detainees at the jail to a new prison ship.

Refugee groups have voiced anger at Home Office Minister Ann Widdecombe's refusal to give any letails of the other five asylum seekers on hunger strike except to give details of the criminal background of one. It is believed those still refusing fluids include a Tanzanian, Salem Mohamed Salem, whose appeal was due to be heard this week.

They have been on hunger strike since January 6. Eleven others are refusing food, claiming they are being treated like criminals while their applications are being processed.

"People are starving themselves to death and we are not even being told who they are," said Nick Hardwick, chief executive of the Refugee Council. "We need to know the names of all those involved."

Ejike Emenike, aged 30, was persuaded by the Rev David Haslam, of Churches Commission on Racial Justice, to agree to rehydration treatment so he could launch a legal battle for bail and temporary mission to an address in Britain.

protest was being nationally reported that he began to cheer up a little bit and take notice. I said to him it was very important that their stories be told," said Mr Haslam. "He is deeply committed to this protest and believes, like I do, that from a Christian viewpoint this is a completely inhuman way to treat people. He agreed to take in fluids

although he is still refusing food."
In the Commons, Miss Widdecombe insisted the hunger strikers would not be force-fed. During furious exchanges with Labour's Ann Clwyd she was asked how she could equate your Christian conscience with allowing these people to die".

Clearly angered, Miss Widde-combe replied: "I do not want any of these detainees to die. That is why the medical attention is available. But it must be their decision whether to take it up or not."

She went on to announce that the Government had dropped plans to move the 200 immigration detainees at Rochester to a new prison ship to be moored near Portland in Dorset. In their original appeal, dated Jan-

uary 4, the hunger strikers said many of them were political asylum seekers who had already been held in prison for more than two years vithout the right to a trial before a

"He was very weak and it was judge. "Numerous suicide attempts, only when we told him that their hunger strikes and official complaints by individuals have gone unheard," said their joint statement. "The response of the authorities is forceful removal to prison conditions without a trial,"

There are 750 detainees in detention centres and prisons in Britain at an annual cost of £20 million. The Home Office says they are held in prisons because of "a potential for violence or disorder or because of the need for closer medical supervision". Mr Emenike arrived in Britain last February after he claimed he had

been beaten and held by the Nigerian state security forces for delivering sermons in which he denounced the government in the wake of envionmental campaigner Ken Saro-Viwa's execution. The protesters, who are Nigerian,

Russian, Romanian, Algerian and Somalian, are among 180 immugrants at the jail. Some have been letained for up to two years. A Home Office spokeswoman

said: "The vast majority of those detained are people who have had their asylum application turned down and are awaiting deportation notices . . . There are specific reasons for imprisoning people, and it is used sparingly. Conditions in the jail are on a par with most of the detention centres we use."



On the stump . . . Kate Hosy, Labour MP for Vauxhall, and Labour candidate Ben Chapman 'blitzing' for votes in the close-fought Wirral South by election called for February 27. Labour's strategists decreed that 50 doors shall be battered on during each hour of blitzing. The byelection was caused by the death of the Conservative MP Barry Porter, who held the seat in 1992 with an 8,183-vote majority

# Would-be priest takes wedding vows

work experience - already responsible for stitching up hospital wounds and reporting on murder trials - has broken yet more controversial new ground, writes

Martin Wainwright. Acting on the "Go for it" guidelines of career officers, an 18-yearold theological student stepped in to conduct a young couple's wedding, when a muddle over timing led to the vicar arriving an hour late.

Although the fresh-faced amateur priest did a technically excellent job, slipping Rodney Earnshaw's ring on

phone to the Earnshaws a week after the £8,000 ceremony in Golcar, after the teenager, who had stepped near Huddersfield. "But the lad in out of a sense of Christian duty. wasn't ordained; in fact he'd only | had confidently asked more than 100 just got his A levels. You're not hus- guests if they knew of any just cause band and wife in the eyes of either.

God or the law." Rodney and Shirley are suing for the cost of a new wedding, but expressed grudging admiration for doing work experience as a server,

or church assistant. Rodney, a night-shift worker aged 25, said: "I thought the lad was a bit young but he was incredibly believ-

his initiative ended in disaster.

his initiative ended in disaster.

The vicar, Rev Robin Townsend, sorry for the couple. died at the age of 72.

RITAIN'S army of teenagers on | Wakefield diocesan voice on the | arrived at St John the Evangelist's

or impediment to the proceedings. Mr Townsend, standing in for St John's incumbent, Rev Martin Crompton, who was away, said he had not been informed of a time the un-named student, who was change and had watched the final moments at the alter aghast.

"To say that I was surprised that understatement — I was shocked and horrified," he sald. "I haven't a clue who the lad is. The whole thing is very unfortunate and I am ward is very unfortunate and I am very Community in the 1970s, has

In Brief

HE week-long struggle to evict anti-roads activists from tunnels beneath the Fairmile protest camp in east Devon ended when the last of the human moles came safely to the surface on January 30. Scum also rises, page 23

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

OHN MAJOR is backing England's bid to stage the 2006 World Cup finals after it merged that Uefa, the Europea football body, was giving its full upport to Germany's claim.

FORMER Wren said by a psychiatrist to be suffering permanent mental scarring as a result of severe sexual harassment in the Royal Navy has launched a £150,000 claim against the Ministry of Defence

HE Government has approved the sale of more than 350 armoured cars and police vehicles to Indonesia, despite a admission that similar vehicles had been used to repress pronocracy demonstrations

M INISTERS have climbed down on some of the most controversial planned cuts in war pensions, sacrificing millions of pounds of savings in the ace of widespread protest.

ORE than 1,200 civil service jobs are to be axed as part of a £105 million compute sation of the Home Office division dealing with immigration ind asylum cuses.

A SECOND front opened in the buttle over a new royal yacht after a ship broker claimed our of his clients — two of them Scandinavian — would be interested in purchasing Britannia

M ICHAEL GRADE, who resigned unexpectedly as hief executive of Channel 4, hts been appointed executive chairman of the entertainment group First Leisure, bought by his uncle Lord Delfont 15 years ago.

HE stepfather of missing Wittshire schoolgiri Zoz Evans has been charged with the nine-year-old's murder.

IVE senior staff at Cardiff prison, including a deputy governor, are to face disciplinary action over the treatmen a remand prisoner, who spent the last 11 days of his life shack led to a bospital bed.

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N ORMAN STONE — Oxford media don and bête noire the liberal establishment—is quitting British academis to take up a research post in Turkey.

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# province

ORTHERN Ireland's safety is being sacrificed on the altar of the British general election. The danger was clearly illustrated at Westminster last week as the House of Commons emptied after an unruly Prime Minister's question-time, leaving only a few MPs to debate the newly published North report on parades and marches. Most MPs are only interested in the coming election and have no time for Northern Ireland. Yet the marching season in the province could start even before the nation goes to the polls, and within a few weeks any new government will face a crunch test at Drumcree, If Drumcree or any of the other aummer flashpoints crupts, all hope of a return to the peace process could go up in smoke. The need for an effective and constructive policy on marching could therefore not be greater. But at this vital time, MPs' minds are preoccupied elsewhere.

Hardly less ominous was the unproductive set of exchanges which then took place when Sir Patrick Maybew delivered the Government's cautious response to the North committee's conclusions. The nub of this independent report is the controversial proposal to give a new Parades Commission the power to control marches. But if this bold solution is indeed the answer that Professor North and his colleagues hope, Northern Ireland is to be denied the chance of finding out at the time when it matters. Sir Patrick proposes to put the idea out to consultation until the end of March, by which time the calling of the election is likely to be imminent. In effect, therefore, his action postpones any pos-sibility of legal implementation of the proposals until after polling day. As a result the report has tool for dealing with the 1997 merching season.

Yet the North committee was established to avoid exactly this outcome. It was a recognition, after the appalling confrontations of 1996, that community relations might collapse back into endemic sectarian violence unless there was a better way of dealing with difficult marches. The Government therefore bears a very heavy responsibility if this now happens again. Its response last week was extraordinarily insipid and inappropriate. By all means let there be necessary consultations with all the relevant parties about how the North proposals can best be implemented. But those meetings could take place much more quickly than the Government proposes and they could take place against the background of a common determination of the British opposition parties to see the legislation through before the election is called. The fact that this is not happening will inevitably raise suspicions that the Government has already given in to Ulster Unionist objections to the report and will not implement it whatever the result of the consultations.

This is not to claim that there is an easy answer to a marching crisis that has loomed ever larger over the last two summers and which threatens to be even more intractable in 1997. There is not. The root cause of disputes of this kind is a genuine Protestant fear that restrictions on the right to march are a big step down a slippery nationalist slope that threatens Unionist culture and traditions in much wider ways. Those fears can only be mollified, if at all, in the context of a broad set of guarantees and an improving political situation. But there is nothing to be gained by doing nothing. A constructive and understanding approach is the only way forward. The North report provided such an opportunity. The Government has fumbled the pass. Elections may be important, but peace mat-

# Taken for a real ride

HE PLIGHT of Britain's bus services, as re-■ vealed by the government's transport working group which reported last week, is no less alarming for being entirely predictable. It did not take vast expertise in transport economics to guess that deregulation coupled with privatisation would place this essential public service in greater jeopardy. Anyone who has stood in a wet market square and discovered that the late bus to the railway station no longer runs — or who arrives at the station and finds that the town bus left five minutes tors must be quietly laughing.

earlier - knew that in advance. Bus services were an obvious target for Thatcherite zeal.

Deregulation came first, encouraging operators to cream off profitable routes and cut back the for a crackdown on the "bus wars" of cowboy operators. Concern over the mounting age of buses has also been admitted. Privatisation only made regulation more difficult, threatening new cuts while bringing rich pickings through takeovers and property sales.

Keeping bus routes alive is not just a matter of sentiment, and the transport minister John Watts has a point in saying that there never was a golden age. Across the country there has been a historical decline since the high point of the 1950s. The shift to the private car and the growth of out-of-town shopping has speeded this decline, particularly in rural areas. Yet it has become a vicious circle: once a service becomes too infrequent, many who would prefer to use it are driven — to drive. Nor is it just a matter of country buses. Britain is essendally an urban society, and its towns and cities are swallowing up the countryside. Yet suburban bus transport has also been badly affected.

The most bitter pill for passengers to swallow is when a rail service is discontinued, on the grounds that an existing bus service will do inatend - only for the alternative to be reduced or disappear. This underlines the argument of the UK Round Table's transport working group that the Government has failed to produced the integrated transport network so badly needed. Again it is a familiar complaint, with the rider that the Government has not failed to do so: it has refused to on doctrinaire grounds. As the group points out, transport needs are becoming more complex and the "market" is even less capable than before of

anticipating demand and responding to it flexibly.

Operators who cream off profits in the form of shares and hand-outs, or who cash in on undervalued privatisation ventures, are only part of the problem. But it was deeply depressing to hear the feeble response of the shadow transport secretary Andrew Smith on the subject last week. And there is no point in talking of the need for new vehicles and services without acknowledging that this will require government investment. The environmental gain is self-evident: one double-decker has the capacity of 20 private cars. But, above all, buses satisfy a huge social need: their principal users are the young, the old, and the poor. We, and particularly they, need the buses.

# Blind eye to human rights

THE WORLD remains a very unfree place, as we are regularly remainded. The human rights committee of the UN meets every year, and Amnesty International and Human Rights Watch issue annual reports. So does the US State Department, which pronounced last week, but its contribution has to be held up to a sharper light.

It was the report's coverage of China which attracted most attention in the news agency summaries. No dissidents, it said, were known to be 'active at year's end". They had all been silenced y intimidation, exile or various forms of imprisonment: these include "administrative" detention which does not require even the normal characle of egal process. It is hard, perhaps impossible, to weigh up the most serious human rights violations n some sort of relative balance. The same report accuses Turkey of "forcibly displacing" more than half a million non-combatants in its campaign the separatist Kurds. It finds Indonesia guilty of acrious abuses in East Timor, with further nstances of killings, disappearances and torture. But the verdict on China must surely tip the

It is all the more amazing, therefore, that the new US secretary of state, Madeleine Albright, should be preparing to visit Beijing before the end of this month. The Chinese foreign ministry took evident pleasure in announcing the visit. The subtext to any Chinese dissidents who may be still at large, and who might be encouraged by the State Department's report, is that deeds count for much

more than words. Diplomacy has to go on, but the discrepancy is excessive. Only little Cuba suffers from US displeasure for its own less grievous human rights

# Can Biko's killers ever to cream off profitable routes and cut back the others—unless councils paid up. A year ago, the Government was forced to acknowledge the need find peace of mind?

**Donald Woods** 

ND SO the chickens of 1977 And SO the chierens are coming home to roost Last week's announcement that five men would apply to South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission to confess to the killing of Steve Biko was a dramatic breakthrough and a striking continuation of that tragic story of 20 years ago.

eviled in some quarters as being a levice to let killers off the hook, has had a week or two of spectacular successes. They have also flushed out the killers of Matthew Goniwe and his fellow victims from the Uitenhage area, and former policemen have been emerging at a dizzying rate to testify to past crimes.

In September 1977, Biko was beaten into a coma in the Eastern Cape city of Port Elizabeth during interrogation by security police officers, and when they couldn't revive him they drove him 1,000 km to Pretoria, where he died two days later.

He had, by the age of 38, become South Africa's leading anti-apartheid personality still at large, though he was under banning orders, forbidden to travel, write or communicate publicly or to speak to more than one person at a time. The authorities feared him because of his work with the Black Consciousness Movement he had founded and led.

The Eastern Cape security police were notoriously brutal, and the South African government took chance in letting them question Biko because there was a real risk of harm to him, and the Vorster government knew this would be a disaster for them. Unfortunately, the police minister, Jimmy Kruger, was a weak man who liked to court popularity with his security police by giving them a free hand with political prisoners.

When they found they had gone too far in beating Blko, Kruger tried to take the heat off by claiming Biko had died after a hunger strike. At a provincial congress of the National Party Kruger jokingly agreed with one delegate that it was "democratic to give prisoners the democratic right to starve themselves".

Within days, though, the starva-tion story was abandoned, because I had gone with Biko's widow to view his body at a small rural mortuary and it was obvious he had lost no weight from his normally bulky body. It was equally obvious that he had been badly beaten up, with marks of blows to the head, which explained why we had been given the runaround by police and mortuary officials before finally tracking

In the limited form of inquest that ollowed, it emerged that Biko had been brutally and callously treated. and few observers believed the new security police version that Biko had bumped his head on a wall during a scuffle with them.

What also emerged was that nine security policemen had access to him in his last days. Their names were published in 1978 in my biography of Biko together with the allegation: One or more of these nine struck

the blows that killed Steve Biko." The five who came forward to confess last week were familiar to . me - they had been among the return to South Africa last month to nine identified then. They were I teach journalism in Johannesburg

Col Harold Snyman, Lt Col G Nieuwaudt, Warrant Officers R Marx and J Beneke and Captain

Another of the nine was Colonel Goosen, who died several years ago after being promoted to police commissioner, and the remaining three are Warrant Officers Wilken, B Coetzee and I Fischer. believed to be living in Pretoria Now that the first five have come forward to confess, there may be additional testimony which links the remaining three to the crime, or they may be moved to confess then selves before being subpoensed.

But two of the main culprits in the cover-up - Kruger and Vorster are both dead, and so far none of the state doctors who saw Biko prison has volunteered to testify.

It seems, however, that they will have to, as the commission has an nounced it will pay particular attention to their conduct. Two of them were later struck off and one o them, Ivor Lang, says he doesn't see why he should be required to face more questioning. Probably, how-ever, he will have to revise his attitude and testify.

Though amnesty is by no means automatic, its prospect, should the commission be satisfied that contiion is genuine and confession full. has undoubtedly brought these killers out of the woodwork. Most of the families concerned are prepared to forgive the killers of their loved ones if they feel there is genuine sorrow and provided they disclose

IKO'S mother, Alice, sai shortly before her death last year: "Yes, I would forgive my son's killers. I am a Christian, and we Christians do forgive. But first l must know who to forgive and what to forgive, which means I must be told fully what happened and why."

The rest of the family have been reluctant to agree, but may have to low that prosecution is not a real possibility in the absence of evilence. The truth commission route it least supplies the vital ingredient of finding out what happened which, in the final analysis, is the most important thing.

Simon Wiesenthal, the Nazi hunter, said what he wanted was justice, not revenge, and that is what the African people are in effect saying when they embark on this unique experiment in national reconciliation

The South Africans want to lance the apartheid boil as soon as poss ble, to let the poison drain out for the whole nation to see, so as to begin the healing process. There is in the process, a price to pay, and some circumstances killers are being allowed to walk free. But there's the rub - how free is free in a country that knows you for a killer?

To forgive is one thing; to forget another. And the fulfilment of justice does not always require a prison sentence. Sometimes it is more a question of conscience and perpetual remembrance.

Donald Woods was editor of the Daily Dispatch in South Africa until arrested and banned in 1977 for publishing details of Steve Biko's killing. He lived in Britain until his

# Le Monde

# Inkatha hovers at the political crossroads

Eric Chambon in Johannesburg

THE impression given by Chief Mangosuthu Butholezi's Zuludominated Inkatha, following its national congress on January 26, is that of a party adrift and contemplating the worst possible options as a way out of its difficulties.

Urged on by Buthelezi, Inkatha refused the hand held out by its rival, President Nelson Mandela's African National Congress (ANC), and rejected a proposed annesty for violent acts committed in confrontations between the two parties in the Inkatha stronghold of KwaZulu-Natal. These clashes have claimed more than 14,000 lives since the

Buthelezi himself has backed his party's hardliners in their open coninkatha becoming a real player in the country's political process.

Two of the party's most impor-tant figures advocating a dialogue with the ANC — Inkatha chairman

April 1994. This has led to the party on occasions dropping right out of the political process before reversand KwaZulu-Natal regional premier Frank Mdlalose, and Ziba Jiyane, Inkatha's general secretary - reacted by announcing their resignations for "personal reasons", While these departures have helped Buthelezi reinforce his authority over the party, they have also drawn attention to Inkatha's difficulties in joining the political establishment of the "new" South

In the days of apartheid, Inkatha used to present itself as an alternative to the ANC, even when this resulted in armed conflict with Mandela's party and dialogue with the white government. Clinging to while Inkatha will not rule out the its demands for an autonomous flict with moderates who favour KwaZulu-Natal region, Inkatha has gradually become marginalised since the multiracial elections of

ing its decision and assuming the role of a responsible opposition

Two factions have gradually emerged within the party that are polarised around these two options. with Buthelezi himself throwing his weight behind one side or the other, lepending on circumstances. So, while Inkatha has cut itself off

from the political process by refusing to take part in shaping the new constitution, thereby placing its own legitimacy in doubt, Buthelezi contimes to hold the position of minis ter of home affairs in Mandela's government of national unity. Meanpossibility of allying itself with other mine the ANC's political domi-



Buthelezi: reinforced authority

This two-faced approach has sulted in Inkatha losing much of its credibility and driving it into an electoral corner. In the municipal elections last year, for example, it obtained less than I per cent of the

votes outside KwaZulu-Natal. Even in its own backyard, Inkatha has lost ground to the ANC, which won control of the province's larger cities. With its claims for autonomy dismissed, inkatha now runs the risk of losing control of KwaZulu-Natal itself in the next round of elections, set for 1999.

Given this prospect, there is a tendency in Inkatha to switch back to a policy of opting for the worst possible scenario. The party's new chairman, Ben Ngubane, has expressed his wish to initiate a diaogue with the ANC, and there has been a sharp reduction of political riolence in KwaZulu-Natal in recen-

People living in the province long for peace. Mandela's ANC-led govcronent has strengthened military and police measures there. It wants to head off a confrontation, but many inkatha activists are hardliners who are not prepared to com promise

(January 29)

# Daughter fights for Nigeria's lost leader

Afsané Bassir Pour in New York meets Wuraola Abiola, who still awaits news of whether or not her father is alive

HAT Wuraola Abiola, the 25-year-old daughter of the Nigerian leader Chief Moshood Abiola, fears most is that the world will forget her father. who has been languishing in a Nigerian prison in his country for the past two years.

Wuraola, who has just completed postgraduate studies at Imperial College in London, had better plans for her life than haunting the corridors of foreign parliaments, talking to journalists and appearing on television programmes.

Her father, a multimillionaire philanthropist, was elected president of Nigeria on June 12, 1993. His "Hope 1993" election campaign, conducted under the supervision of international observers, won him 58 per cent of the votes in both the Muslim north and the Christian south of the country.

But when the president of the day, Ibrahim Babangida, annulled the election and threatened to issue a warrant for his arrest, Chief Abiola left the country. After a year spent abroad talking to heads of state, Chief Abiola returned to Nige-June 1994, and was promptly ar-rested. Babangida himself was ousted from office by another mili-

tary coup.

Abiola was put on trial on July 6, 1994, but the proceedings became bogged down in procedural arguments. Divisions appeared even in his own family, particularly about the choice of the defence lawyer. On June 4, 1996, the jailed chief's wife, Kudiratu Abiola, was killed in a car crash that some suspect was the result of foul play. Since October 1994, Chief Abiola has been deprived of nearly all visits and contacts with the outside world.

semblance to her father, is deter nined not to give the impression of being a "daughter who misses her father". She says: "I want to show you the man and his vision, a vision which has convinced the vast majority of Nigerians, so you realise the great injustice that has been done to him." But she reveals her underlying anxiety when she says: "All I want to know is whether my father is still alive. Nobody has seen him in

he past two years." Wuraola says she is concerned that his mind may be affected. "I'm not asking for much: Just tell me my father is still alive. He is a man who can't sit around doing nothing. can't imagine him all alone, without books or newspapers; he could go out of his mind."

Amnesty International is also worried about his health. The human rights group says Chief Abiola has a cidney ailment and high blood pressure but is being denied medical

He is one of the 43 "prisoners of conscience" Amnesty International has adopted in Nigeria, but his plight is of more immediate concern to the Nigerians who voted for him. Among the other political prisoners Amnesty International has adopted in Nigeria is General Olesegur Obasanjo, president from 1976-79



Chief Abiola: denied medical Wuraola, who bears a striking re treatment PHOTO: ENRIQUE SHORE

who has also been imprisoned since 1995. South Africa's President Nelson Mandela has dedicated his auto son Manuera trus treatments. "To my biography to the general: "To my triend General Obasanjo, who towers head and shoulders over many of those who hold high office in the

Wuraola is keenly aware of th tireless efforts that non-governmen tal organisations are making and igrateful to them. But she feels that governments ought to be doing something. "Even if this military regime makes a success of its economic programme — which seems highly improbable to me — how can one go on doing business with it knowing that honourable men like my father are dying in prison? spend my life talking to politician who politely listen to me, but do nothing. Yet what I want to know is simple: Why is my father in prison

Why am I not allowed to see him?" Asked what she had learnt from her father, she unhesitatingly answers: "Generosity and compas sion." To drive the point home she recalls an incident, which she says is now well-known in Nigeria, when thieves one night came to burgle their house. "Once they got to the front door, they changed their minds. With revolvers in their hands, they rang the doorbell and him: 'Chief, we can't steal from you but our children are hungry. Help us,' My father spent the night talk-

ing to them." Would Abiola be willing to abandon his claims to the presidency l he were released? "I don't know about him," says Wuraola, "but would say 'yes' at once, I don't know

how long he can survive in prison." General Sani Abacha's military regime says it is "determined" to give up power in 1998. Will it do so? "History tells us no, but I hope I'm mistaken," says Wuraola, who is particularly worried by the growing violence in Nigeria. This campaign of terror has soun out of control. It's both criminal and political, though nobody knows where it's coming from." She feels the violence is compounding the unpredictability of the situation in Nigeria, "What if we're presented with a piece of bad news without any explanation?" she asks. Chief Olu False, another human rights campaigner, was arrested on lanuary 15.

(January 29)

# Journalist's assassination sparks unease in Argentina

**Christine Legrand** n Buenos Aires

THE assassination on 1 January 29 of a journalist who specialised in uncovering corruption has touched off a wave of public anger over the sceming impunity enjoyed by criminals in Argentina.

President Carlos Menem has admitted that the murder, which took place near Pinumar, a seaside resort some 400km from the capital, may have political

Jose Luis Cabezas, a young reporter and photographer working for the weekly Noticias, was said to have been seized in the early hours of the morning as he was leaving a party given by a businessman. Investigators say some six to 10 men seized the journalist, killed him and set his car on fire. He had been handcuffed and shot in the head.

Pinamar is the summer apital of all the "president's nen". They include his brother Eduardo, president of the Senate, and Eduardo Duhaide, governor of Buenos Aires province and the leading andidate to step into the president's shoes in 1999. Duhaide has already offered a reward of \$300.000 for any information

shout the killing. The Noticias management is nterpreting the murder as a warning to the magazine and to the press in general. Noticias reports have attracted several legal suits by the government. During the past six months Cabezas, as a photographer, had been involved in preparing several sensational exposés of drugs scandals involving showbusiness and political celebrities close to the government. They included articles on the killing of a fashionable disco manager in Buenos Aires (whose nurder remains unsolved). Cabezas was also the only man who had succeeded in taking a photograph of Alfredo Ybran, the

mysterious businessman whom

the former economy minister Domingo Cavallo (dismissed last July) branded as the principal ทมเดิส โรยสล".

Last summer Ybran, who has powerful connections inside the ruling Justicialist (Peronist) Party, opened a luxury hotel complex at Pinamar, which touched off new accusations of corruption from Cavallo. More recently, Cabezas had been investigating groups of police officers suspected of involvement in a spate of armed robberies and thefts along the

Atlantic coast. Cabezas's murder has revived the controversy over impunity, which is one of the main source: of people's anxiety. The manager of football star Diego Maradona, Guillermo Coppola, who was suspected of involvement in drug trafficking, was released early in January after serving three months in prison. The inquiry in his case started with a

series of arrests at Pinamar. Today, the police officers who conducted the investigation are in custody, charged with misuse of authority and giving false evidence. Also behind bars is the judge who ordered the spectacular arrest of Coppola

Shut out of the president's circle, Menem's former wife, Zuiema Yoma, regularly issues statements claiming that their only son Carlitos, who died in a was assassinated, though she has yet to produce any proof to back up her claims. But her references to the "governmental mofia", which in another context echo the allegations made by Cavallo, opposition leaders and journalists, are increasingly

being accepted by the public. On January 28 Argentine reporters and photographers held demonstrations at Pinamar and in Buenos Aires. They are demanding justice and have decided to wear black ribbons until the murder of their

colleague is cleared up. (January 31)



Michel Guerrin

Schirmer/Mosel Verlag (Munich) 240pp DM98

photographer, Josef Breitenbach, has been largely ignored in France: he does not feature in any French dictionaries or histories of photography; no work has bition of his work held in his home

Those who read German are in the fortunate position to be able to fall back on Photographien, a large album just published in Germany, which contains some long and detailed articles on Breitenbach and 152 photographs by him impeccably reproduced and laid-out.

Their arresting quality is typified by the picture on the cover of the book. It shows a woman with her elbow on a table chatting to a man dressed in a dinner jacket and holding a top hat. The photograph was taken in Munich in 1933.

The subjects' posture, the way they are looking at each other, and the setting (with its postprandial white tablecloth) suggest that they are engaged in a serious conversation about a change of government or a currency devaluation. But the woman is stark naked. This is what injects a disturbing element into the picture, which forms part of series comprising several much more suggestive and ambiguous

chant's son, Born in Munich in 1896, he studied the history of art, took his first photos in the twenties, and by 1931 was describing himself as an "independent photographic re-

A portrait of him in 1915 shows a determined young man sporting unruly hair who looks as though he spent most of his time hanging around Munich's Bohemian cafés. He set about producing a photo-

graphic record of the city's theatrical circles, and played his part in the emergence of the illustrated press in

When the Nazis came to power in 1933, Breitenbach fled to Paris, where he made a name for himself as a portrait photographer. His sub-jects included James Joyce, Bertolt Brecht, Aristide Maillol, Wassily Kandinsky and Max Ernst.

In 1941 Breitenbach moved on to New York, where he taught photography, chiefly at the New School for Social Research. He died in 1985, leaving a large corpus of photographic work, which is now preserved at the Arizona Center for Creative Photography.
It is easy to see why his work has

emained little known and has been overlooked by historians and museums. Breitenbach's portraits, nudes and reportage work were at odds with the kind of ideas being explored by his contemporaries.

At a time when modernism, the predominant school in the twenties, was using its clinically precise images, vertiginous angles and virtuosic laboratory techniques to bring the curtain down on the pictorialist tradition bequeathed by the 19th century, Breitenbach was still undauntedly turning out hazy land-scapes, blurred faces and nudes that seemed to be swathed in gentle

On closer examination it becomes apparent that Breitenbach's work, far from looking backwards, relies rather on a mixture of genres for its effect. He was especially fond of juxtaposing a yearning for the past with a very bracing sense of the present and contrasting the blurred with the clearcut, the academic with the scandalous, sentimentality with sensuality, and black and

It was as if Breitenbach could not bear to wrench himself away from a period and a culture that had always informed his art. Some of his early



Dr Riegler and J Greno (Munich, 1933)

American nudist camp in the fiftles:

Expressionistic manner; others are in the tradition of the 19th century; others again seem to be intended as Breitenbach's effigy-like portraits

of famous intellectuals are tinged with religiosity. His use of montage is both modern and decorative. It his extremely daring 1933 nudes, women adopt outrageous poses which give prominence to their sexual organs.

And then there is Breitenbach's

ise of colour. He was one of the first photographers who dared to colour solated motifs in his pictures. Sometimes the result almost verged on bad taste, for example the portrait of the French film star and given a shock of flaming-orange hair in 1939), or the black-and-white portrait of Max Ernst with a red sea-

Equally unclassifiable are Breiten-bach's photographs of children at an

# back into the limelight Dominique Frétard

ways guaranteed to bring out the glitterati. This was especially true of he premiere at the Palais de Chal-Presbytère N'A Rien Perdu de Sor Charme, Ni Le Jardin de Son Edat (The Presbytery Has Lost Nothing Of Its Charm, And The Garden Queen - who, with Mozart, pro vided the music of the ballet were due to go on stage at the end of the performance and receive a minister, Philippe Douste-Blazy.

The event was organised to thank both John and Queen for their work in the fight against Aids, and to commemorate the deaths of Freddie Mercury, Queen's lead singer,

Since Béjart wrote in his autoquences seemingly interminable.

could have produced the close-up of woman's sexual organs (1950). whose configuration is reminiscent outstretched, people doing toad-in of Gustave Courbet's controversial painting, L'Origine du Monde.

Another totally individual photowell-controlled solos. graph is the last one in the book, the portrait of a sleeping Japanese woman (1968), which is so realistic

The new ballet is the nineties equivalent of Béjart's celebrated graphy, who love compartmentalising their field of inquiry in a manner Messe Pour Le Temps Présent (Mass For The Present Time). In deed Bejart indulges in a bit of selfquotation; we find the same groups of dancers clustered in a circle, the same raised or outstretched arms with elenched fists.

There was something touching about the way Bejart came on stage

He loved no one more than Dono his old age, Béjart is not afraid o appearing sentimental. By showing images of Donn, he was also saying that perhaps he had at last come to terms with the death of his partner and dancer. It was just the right moment for Queen and John to strike up The Show Must Go Op. The audience gave Bejart a standing ovation.

(January 21)

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# Béjart steps

A NEW ballet by Maurice Béjart (who turns 70 this year) is allut in Paris of his latest offering, Le Nothing Of Its Splendour), because Elton John and the rock group arts decoration from the culture

and Jorge Donn, Bejart's favourite

biography that he preferred people to love him rather than his work one has no qualms about saying that the choreography of the ballet is conventional, and its various se ers charged with disturbing sexual

There are some very fine images white sheets used as shrouds or togas, a gorgeous dancer who throws herself on to her belly, arms hops in the manner of Mick Jagge. addition, Mercedes Villanues and Myrna Kamara perform some

Gianni Versace's costumes have the great merit of lending homegeneity to the event. All the dancers re stunning. Gregor Metzger, who leads the procession into a world of love and death, has the fluency of someone who slightly overdoes things — which is just right for this sixties-style musical contedy.

at the end to kiss the hands of his dancers, which protruded from the sheets they were draped in Of course it was all slightly over the top, but Béjart has a genuine affec-

Le Monde

# The Washington Post

# U.S. Rights Report Chastises Allies

Thomas W. Lippman

HE State Department chastised several of Washington's closest allies and biggest trading partners for human rights abuses last week, saying that despite some gains "patterns of repressions and systemic human rights abuses continued in many countries, including some of the world's largest and

Among the countries cited for a wide range of abuses, such as prison brutality and curbs on freedom of speech, were close U.S. partners Turkey, Egypt and Pakistan, The report also criticized economic powerhouses courted by the Clinton administration including Saudi Arabia, Indonesia and China.

Secretary of State Madeleine K Albright, releasing the department's annual country-by-country assess-ment of individual freedom and the rule of law, said, "Human rights are and will remain a key element in our foreign policy, both in our bilateral relationships and in our leadership within international organizations."

It was clear from the massive report, however, that while concern over rights abuses and restrictions on freedom are the determining factor in relations with some countries - notably Cuba and Burma - they

Sharansky

To Russia

Returns

lovo prison here.

are often subordinated to economic and strategic interests.

The Clinton administration has made that choice most dramatically in the case of China. Strategic and economic concerns there are so powerful that Albright, Vice President Gore and President Clinton are all planning to visit this year despite what the report called "widespread and well documented human rights

In China last year, the report said, "all public dissent against the party and government was effectively silenced by intimidation exile, the imposition of prison terms, administrative detention or house arrest. No dissidents were known to be active at year's end."

Asked why the administration would pursue good relations with China under those circumstances while ostracizing Cuba for similar policies, Assistant Secretary of State John Shattuck observed that "every country is different in this world and every country needs to be treated in our foreign policy with a particular approach. There are many different interests that the United States has in many countries

Business leaders and strategic planners have applauded this approach as a pragmatic and realistic

too important to be snubbed over their human rights records, how-ever dismal. Conversely, human rights activists have criticized the administration for maintaining ties to unsavory regimes.

The human rights report "is strong and hard hitting but what the administration needs is an equally tough and consistent human rights policy," said Mike Jendrzejczyk, Washington director of Human Rights Watch/Asla. "On China, the report documents an escalation of abuses while the White House follows a failed constructive engagement policy. How useful is a well done report if it has little or no impact on U.S. policy?"

In country after country, the report makes clear, the "many different interests" cited by Shattuck have led the administration to set aside its distaste for human rights conditions in pursuit of good relations.

In Egypt, for example, where the main U.S. interests are Middle East peace and the restraint of Islamic militancy, the State Department found that "the government's human rights record improved somewhat over the past year, although it remains poor . . . Security forces continue to mistreat and tor-

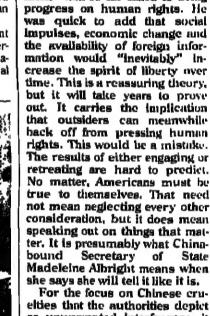
detain persons, hold detainees in prolonged pretrial detention and occasionally engage in mass arrests."

In Saudi Arabia, where the overriding interest is oil, the report asserted that "the government commits and tolerates serious human rights abuses" and "severely limits freedom of speech and the press. The authorities do not countenance criticism of Islam, the ruling family or the government."
In Indonesia, which Clinton has

visited and where the United States has growing trade interests, the State Department found that the government "continued to commit serious human rights abuses. Rising pressures for change, including those by political activists and opponents, triggered tough government actions that further infringed on fundamental rights."

The State Department report had predictably harsh words on Iran and delivered a scathing assessment of the performance of the beleaguered government of President Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia.

In Serbia, the State Department said, "the police committed numerous, serious abuses including extrajudicial killings, torture, brutal beatings, and arbitrary arrests.



international rules.

China is said to be confronting a harsh choice between suffering penalties for its authoritorian ways and opening up political space for internal challenge. But this is precisely the dilemma that friends of democracy ought to be pleased to see China face. The current illiberal leadership nity. Sharansky, 49, the leader of an may not be happy about it, but over time the Chinese people ought to benefit from even ragged movement toward fair ness and the rule of low.

# Charting history in a musical hideaway

Alain Lompech

HE new Musée de la Musique in Paris, which opened its doors on January 18, follows in a good republican tradition: in 1793, the National Convention decided to set up a collection of instruments. Two years later, the Conservatoire housed a "room of ancient instruserve as models".

The aim of the museum, which forms part of the Cité de la Musique at La Villette, is not just to preserve models but to chart their history. The way in which its 900 instruments are exhibited in the museum's nine sections serves an educational purpose.

Interactive panels and infra-red headphones allow visitors to wander as they wish through a series of lively and in some cases game-orientated areas covering 3,000 sq in: the Musée de la Musique is a CD-Rom given flesh and blood.

Instruments, notation, composition, concert halls - their design iconography are all taken into account in the museum's description of classical Western music from the Renaissance up to Pierre Boulez's Institut de Recherches et de Coordination Acoustique/ Musique

Calas, drawing on her experience as head of the national sound archive, has included Thomas Edison's phonograph and some of the soundreproducing machines that revolutionised music's accessibility, including the "audion" invented by an American, Lee de Forest, early this century that contributed to the development of both the radio and

recording industries. Although the notion of progress is rather irritatingly harnmered home. the Musée de la Musique must be counted an exemplary success.

and how it affects acoustics — musical development in the context audiences, concerts and their of a museum exhibition has attracted criticism. The hardest thing to accept, and something that is rejected by most musicians, is the idea of imprisoning instruments in

ments and of those used by us | national collection, and extra-Euro- | uncopiable | because they were which can through their perfection | pean music, past and present, is | mass-produced (such as planos datonly patchily represented. But the | ing from the second half of the 19th museum's curator, Marie-France | century), or which were trail-blazing prototypes in the history of in-

oration - than a tool that enables musicians to produce art.

One cannot quibble with the display of instruments that nobody plays any more, which are virtually

strument design. But it is very depressing to see violins, cellos, violas, lutes, guitars and harnsichords reduced to the state of mute objects. To some, they are works of art. But surely a musical instrument is less a work of art harpsichord with hand-painted dec-

It is true that placing musical instruments in such collections has Jean-Jaurès, Paris, Closed on enabled them to survive in good | Monday However, the principle of placing | condition. But although hundreds of

harosichords were thrown out windows during the French Revolution, it is a long time since ancient instruments were last used as fire-

some are assertively pictorial, oth-

No one but Breitenbach, either.

she seems to have only just slipped

from the photographer's arms.

The pictures included in this

large and elegantly designed book

will be new to many. They prove

that a whole ocurre can easily be

overlooked by historians of photo-

overtones.

Despite some initial rejuctance on the part of the curators, the in-struments in the collection will be used for occasional concerts in a auditorium. This is a good thing: even the finest stringed instruments are reduced to nothing | who was present on a giant screen more than assemblages of pieces of dancing Nijinksy, Clown de Dieu. in

wood if they are never played. Many makers have copied such pieces, but have never solved the mystery of how violinists like Yehudi Menuhin, Jascha Heifetz, Nathan Milstein, Anne Sophie Mutter or Itzhak Perlman produce the glorious sounds they coax out of the

Performers of that calibre are anyway capable of making a practice instrument sound good. That is the - except possibly in the case of a great paradox: placed in the hands of a clumsy violinist, even the finest Stradivarius in the world is useless.

Musée de la Musique, 221 Avenue

**David Hoffman in Moscow** DURING one particularly difficult interrogation after his arrest on March 15, 1977, Anatoly Sharansky, a Jewish dissident, was being threatened by a Soviet KGB "So you want to play the hero? Go ahead, be a hero," shouted Volodin, according to Sharansky's memoir. Only remember — we don't let

reroes out of Lefortovo alive!" Last week, two decades later Sharansky returned to Lefortovo, not only alive but as Israel's minister of commerce and industry. And after revisiting cell No. 47, Sharansky stepped outside, perched on a: snowbound wall and freely repeated the act that so frightened the Soviet authorities: He spoke out.

"I want to say that the regime fought against doesn't exist," he said. The people who defended it big way. There is no need to forgive | sia. But the most poignant moments those who lost. I never saw this as a fight with individuals, I saw it as a fight with the system, and the system is dead."

Sharansky's visit to the prison. was the capstone of an emotional four-day return to Russia for the first time since he was released in an East-West prisoner swap in 1986. and emigrated to Israel. Sharansky, who championed the right of Jews to leave the Soviet Union, was interrogated at Lefortovo for 16 months after his arrest. He was tried on charges of treason and served nine years of a 13-year sentence.

Accompanied by his wife, Avital, who waged a determined interna-



Natan Sharansky, with his wife Avital, makes his first visit to Russia since 1986

tional campaign for his release from the Soviet gulag, Sharansky used his visit last week to celebrate the

He has also tried to boost ecothen have lost — they've lost in a nomic ties between Israel and Rusof his return came as he sought to rewind the tape of history and reexamine the bittersweet memories of the dissidents' often-lonely struggle against the Soviet police state.

He laid a wreath at the tomb of his friend Andrei Sakharov, fellow dissident and designer of the Soviet hydrogen bomb. Sharansky said the only previous time he wanted to return to Russia was to pay his last tributes to Sakharov after his death In 1989, but Soviet officials refused, because they still considered him a spy for the West.

Sakharov "created the hydrogen bomb, a massive weapon, in the hopes that it would bring peace," the darkness was ...

Sharansky said at the Vostryakovo cemetery. "He honestly thought that it would do so. Then, when he understood that it can have an opposite new openness of post-Soviet Russia. effect, he created a new weapon: the weapon of speaking the truth, and rights. And that is the weapon, as it turned out, against which no dictatorship could defend itself."

Later, Sharansky was asked if his return to Russia would revive painful memories of the past.

"I have to tell you openly that I have no painful memories," he said, "because memories of struggle, years spent in prison, strange as it may seem, are pleasant memories. They are memories of years which might have been hard in the physical sense, but morally, those were pure and bright years when it was absolutely clear what good and evil was, where the light was and where

On Thursday last week, he went back through the gates to "my alma mater," and observed that his old cell seemed smaller. The prison is cleaner, he added, the food rations are slightly larger, prisoners have radios, and in the brutal "punishment" cells, inmates are given blankets against the cold.

Sharansky left Moscow as a dissident who challenged Soviet power but returned as a paragon of the establishment. He met with Russian Foreign Minister Yevgeny Primakov and other top officials, concluded an agreement for more Russian-Israeli joint ventures, led a trade delegation of 70 Israell businessmen and made

several appearances before Moscow's resurgent Jewish commu-Israeli party that seeks improved conditions for Russian immigrants. serves in the cabinet of Prime Minister Beniamin Netanyahu.

# **Telling It** Like It Is On China

**EDITORIAL** 

THE sallent chapter in the State Department's latest human rights report is about China, and it makes grim reading. The Communist authorities have done nothing less than silence all public dissent. Some of this was done no doubt to keep control in choppy political waters. Another likely consideration was to show American critics that China does not shrink from sticking a finger in their eye. The "international accepted norms" that the United States calls on Beliing to stop violating are spurned by the Chinese.

The report led President

Clinton to acknowledge that his policy of "constructive engage-ment" had so far failed to bring

as unwarranted interference, it would be foolish of Americans not to expect to pay some price, at least in the tone of the relationship. But it would be even more foolish of the Chinese not to expect to pay a price at least as high. After all, what is for the United States an issue of stability in a remote region is for China the core of its national interests. With American cooperation, China can reap the full benefits of working with the world system. Without it, China inevitably lags. Mrs. Albright says the overall connection is too important to be held hostage to any single issue. True, but contacts, trade or strategy --Beling as well as Washington will suffer if China stiffs the Dana Priest

DEFENSE Secretary William S. Cohen said last week he was "disturbed and disgusted" by a videotape he had seen of a Marine hazing ritual in which newly earned parachute jump pins were ground into the chests of Marine paratroopers.

At the same time, Marine Corps officials said 52 Marines had been court-martialed since 1994 for their involvement in hazing activities. Another 34 had received nonjudicial punishment, including dishonorable discharges, "I don't think it's something we could begin to say is an isolated incident," said Maj. Scott Campbell, a Marine spokesman.

In addition to the hurtful pinning called "blood winging" or "blood pinning" because the pin prick draws blood, other unofficial rites of passage in the Marines and other military services include having a line of Marines or soldiers repeatedly hit a colleague on the shoulder where he has just received a new badge. Consuming large amounts of alcohol in short periods of time or making a soldier or Marine do hundreds of push-ups, lug incapacitated equipment long distances or crawl through the mud are other common antics that long have been part of the military culture.

"What's a couple pin pricks? I could be an AK-47," one officer said. "Yeah, blood pinning is terrible, but

Hazing in the military is usually voluntary, a way to build morale and

James Rupert in Abidian

IBERIANS who have fought a

Livil war for seven years hur-

ried last week to hand over guns

and bullets to a peacekeeping force

before a deadline for warring fac-tions to disarm. The last-minute

rush raised some hopes — the most

substantial in years — that a peace

Disarmament centers "have been

quite busy today, the same as in recent days," said an officer who

identified himself as Maj. Hassan at

the peacekeeping force's headquar-ters on Friday last week. "Every-

thing is calm, and we hope it will

For months, Liberian civilian

leaders and the West African peace-

plan is making real progress.

remain so," he said.



A still taken from the 1991 videotape shows a U.S. Marine paratrooper undergoing hazing

Marines and other military officers. Cohen and others said some activities are necessary to build warriors capable of enduring physical pain.

"People get very charged up in this business," explained Gen. John Shalikashvili, chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. "We demand that people be very tough." He said morale-building, however, should encompass only "decent behavior," which "blood winging" was not.

The hazing issue resurfaced last week when CNN aired a videotape voluntary, a way to build morale and of 1991 incidents in which pins sig-prove courage, according to nifying Marines had earned para-up and abused again.

men to give up their arms. The lat-

est of several Liberian peace plans

called for the fighters to be dis-

armed by January 31, for political

campaigning to start this spring and

for legislative and presidential elec-tions to be held in May.

Until recently, the process ap-

peared stalled. Liberians and peace-

keepers guessed that there may be

anywhere from 25,000 to 60,000

armed fighters in the country, and

in the last week, Liberians have

and consumer goods that are being

offered by various citizen groups as

chute jump wings were stammed into the chests of the paratroopers. The 1991 video and another from 1993 were first brought to the Pentagon's attention by Dateline NBC, which aired the tapes last week.

The 1991 tape shows several Marines against a wall and other Marines violently shoving and rubbing the sharp point of the pins into the flesh of fellow Marines.

The T-shirts of the new paratroopers soon became stained with their blood and some of them collapsed in pain, only to be propped

As of Friday last week, more than

in, peacekeepers said. In addition,

the leaders of the factions have

handed over substantial amounts of

giving up warfare to pursue power

or wealth by other means.

nope among Liberians.

With Greek-Turkish tensions over Cyprus and other issues threatening to erupt into armed conflict and stymie plans for expansion of NATO this summer, the Clinton Arms Turn-In Boosts Liberia Peace Plan administration is considering an all-out push this year to break the that control most of Liberia's gun- | tional reconciliations among some Cyprus deadlock. fighters and a palpable sense of

In her first week as Secretary of State, Madeleine K. Albright said several times that the United States 6.000 weapons have been handed is prepared to take on what she called "a heightened role" in breaking the stalemate on Cyprus, but she has given no indication of how she plans to go about it. That is because she and her aides have not heavy weaponry and offered other signals that at least for now, they are figured out how to go about it, a State Department official said.

Late last month, Charles Taylor, "There is a demand and a justifias of two weeks ago officers of the the man who started Liberia's war cation for making the effort," he said. peacekeeping force counted only about 6,000 weapons handed in. But powerful of the factions, handed The international community needs a resolution of this issue. So the over field guns, mortars and other question is not whether we should. rushed to present arms and claim | artillery pieces. Taylor and his chief but how. We face the unwillingness the food packages, tuition vouchers rival, Alhaji Kromah, have anof key parties to make any kind of nounced they will run for president. compromise to reduce tension."

Another factional leader, Roose-Greece and Turkey, Cold War allies as members of NATO but historic enemies, have exhibited

# Cyprus Leader Seeks To Defuse Tension

Thomas W. Lippman

THE PRESIDENT of Cyprus has given the United States a warplanes will be deployed to an air base under construction on the island at least through the end of his term 13 months from now, accordng to U.S. officials.

President Glafcos Clerides made the promise to U.S. diplomat Carey Cavanaugh when Cavanaugh visited the island in mid-January on a mission to defuse the latest flare-up of tension between Greece and Turkey, U.S. officials said.

The unannounced promise not to receive Greek F-16s, coupled with Clerides's public pledge to wait 16 months before receiving any components of the Russian surface-to-air missiles Cyprus has agreed to buy, was designed to give U.S. and European diplomats time to seek a solution to the long-stalemated division of Cyprus, U.S. officials and European sources said. Cypriot embassy sources in Washington said they could neither confirm nor dispute

the reported pledge. Cyprus has been divided along a tense cease-fire line since 1974, when Turkish troops landed in response to a pro-Greece coup. Turkey, which has more than 30,000 troops on Cyprus, controls the northern third of the island and recognizes it as a sovereign country. All other nations recognize Clerides's Greekdominated government.

"These are acid concerns to

refrain from any action which wil

David Hannay, who leads Britain't quest for a Cyprus solution, was due tations. But U.S. officials said they have no illusions about the difficulty of ending an impasse that has frustrated all initiatives for more than 20 years. Perhaps the biggest prob-lem, they said, is finding a formula that would accommodate Turkey's many concerns.

A weak coalition government in Ankara is viewed as unlikely to make controversial commitments on the future of Cyprus without firm guarantees of security for the Turkish Cypriot population and some as-surances about its future relations with the rest of Europe.

since the Cold War ended and have been building up military forces, as has the Greek Cypriot government. Turkey and Greece came close to armed conflict a year ago in a dispute over ownership of a string of tiny uninhabited islands in the Aegean

dent Clinton to intervene to head off a conflict that could have destable lized much of southern Europe. Each acquisition of military hardware and each movement o

military forces seems to fuel Greek-Turkish suspicions and inflame tensions. When Cyprus announced plans last month to purchase 300 sophisticated anti-aircraft missiles from Russia. Turkey threatened military action to block the acquisition. The Turks, whose planes rou

Sea, a dispute that prompted Presi-

tinely fly to Cyprus, feared the missiles would be used against their nircraft. Cyprus insisted the missiles were purely defensive. Cyprus has no air force. But

under a 1993 defense pact with Greece, it is building a military air field at Paphos that could accommodate Greek F-16s, which would be deployed there in the event of threatening actions by the Turks. Some Cypriot officials and Richard Beattie, Clinton's special envoy ( Cyprus, have said Cyprus expects the planes to be stationed permanently on the island when the facility is ready later this year.

furkey — Greek jets and Russia. missiles on Cyprus," a U.S. official

By holding off on both at least until next year, Clerides has created some diplomatic breathing space. His foreign minister, Alccos Michaelides, said last month that as soon as an international diplomatic initiative begins, "We will first of all

# Justice on Trial at **Genocide Tribunals**

Stephen Buckley in Kigali

HE DAY Frodouard Karamira's trial was to begin, the steamy courtroom built for 100 people - was stuffed with twice that many. Karamira, a businessman accused of taking a leading role in Rwanda's 1994 geno cide, had gotten a defense attorney just three days earlier. Four other suspects scheduled for trial that day had no lawyers.

The three magistrates, thrust into the genocide trials after only a few nonths' training, held court for nearly four hours, then decided to postpone the proceedings. Nearly 500 miles to the east, i

Arusha, Tanzania, the U.N. International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda also is holding genocide trials. Defense attorneys are prepared. Fans cool the courtroom. Spectators watch from a spacious gallery. The three judges, seasoned professionals from foreign nations, move the proceedings along swiftly.

Yet beneath the surface, the U.N.run trials are suffused with tensions that spring from allegations that include nepotism, cronyism and mismanagement of resources.

As Kwanda tries to foster recon ciliation in a country bitterly divided by ethnic slaughter and civil war, concerns are being raised that the cause of justice has gotten off to a sputtering start both in the government-run trials in Kigali and other Rwandan cities and in the U.N. tribunal in Arusha.

This meets our standards for a kangaroo court," a senior Western diplomat said of the Rwandan pro-

The trials are meant to bring to justice people who allegedly took part in a campaign waged by the Hutu ethnic group, which accounts for about 85 percent of Rwanda's population, to exterminate the Tutsi minority. Beginning in April 1994, Hutu extremists in the army and civilian militias killed more than a half-million Tutsis, along with Hutus deemed enemies of the Hutu-led

A Tutsi-led rebel group seized power in July 1994 and halted the

slaughter soon afterward. With that, more than 1.5 million Hutus fled to neighboring countries. An estimated 1 million of them have looded back into the country from Zaire and Tanzania in the past two

organization and lack of resources. Others express fear that corruntion U.N. proceedings, which have in-dicted a handful of men suspected of organizing the 1994 massacres.

"Justice is not the only ingredient "But it's absolutely key."

One casualty of the violence in structed courts. It resupplied or

The overwhelming caseload has made the government reluctant to postpone trials, even though virtually all of the suspects lack defense attorneys. Trials began on Decem-ber 30 and so far at least eight defendants have been sentenced to

Now, with most of the refugees

back in the country and the reconciliation process begun in earnest, some human rights observers and diplomats say the trials in Rwanda. for which some 90,000 suspects are being held, may fail because of disand dissension have poisoned the

necessary for reconciliation," said John Keys, country director of the International Rescue Committee.

1994 was Rwanda's justice system. Many magistrates and law enforcement officials were either killed or fled as refugees. The Rwandan government, with the help of major donor countries such as the United States and the Netherlands and groups such as the International Rescue Committee, has scrambled to rebuild the system. It reconfices with photocopiers, printers, pens, paper. It recruited magistrates, who received four months'

But even those strides have not brought the system back to normal. Ita work force buckles under the 90,000-prisoner caseload, as about 50 prosecution investigators struggle with some 600 cases each.

In the Kibungo prison in south-eastern Rwanda, Deogratias Bizimana, 38, and Egide Gatanazi, 43, the first two defendants sentenced to death, have appealed. Both are | Rwanda for three decades. "Serious



in the massacre of hundreds of Tutsis in Kibungo in 1994. Standing outside a dark, cramped

3-by-6-foot cell that he and Gatanazi share. Bizimana, a former physicinn's assistant, held a sheet of paper on which he had scribbled his list of reasons for appeal.

"We appeared without lawyers. that's the first reason," said Bizimana, a stocky man whose wide eyes frequently flash with nervous energy. "I tried to convince them to allow me to get a lawyer, but they would not."

Human rights activists and diplomats have blasted the proceedings. "The trials will lack credibility things don't change," said Alison DesForges, of Human Rights Watch/Africa, who has studied

accused of inciting and participating | prosecution appears not to be a top priority for this government."

Gerald Gahima, Rwanda's deputy justice minister, acknowledged that the trials thus far "could be better conducted. . . . The magistrates are new to their job. They're not sure what to do."

But Gahima added that critics are holding Rwanda to an unfair standard. He said the trials are being conducted under the same system the country used before 1994. Then, trials frequently proceeded without defense attorneys because only 3 percent of defendants could afford them, Gahima said.

Today, there are about 200 awyers in Rwanda, but only 16 practicing. Of those 16, most have refused to represent genocide sus-

"The standard is both unrealistic

and unfair," Keys said. "To level these complaints against Rwanda doesn't take into account the demands placed upon a very poor The U.N. International Criminal

Tribunal for Rwanda, meanwhile, is far from poor. Established 18 months ago, it has indicted 21 people. The first suspect - Jean-Paul Akayesu, a former mayor in Rwanda - went on trial on January 9 after several postponements.

An air of cool professionalism pervades the proceedings in Arusha. Bottles of mineral water are scattered throughout the court room, and interpreters provide almost simultaneous translations. The

tribunal has a \$36 million budget.
One of the principal stumbling blocks facing the Arusha tribunal the fact that few of those indicted are in custody — was greatly diminished last month when Cameroon handed over four former Rwandan Hutu officials suspected of masterminding the mass slaughter. Yet a torrent of controversy and criticism has jolted the tribunal, prompting at least three investigations into its actions in recent months.

Some staff members charge that the tribunal's administrators have run it so poorly that they have denearly paralyzed the work of investigators. Others, Europeans and Americans in particular, have accused African officials of using nepotism and cronyism to freeze hem out of positions.

The tribunal's headquarters is in Arusha, but its main offices and inestigative operations are in Kigali. Rwanda's capital. Tribunal officials here tume, accusing Arusha of denying them resources. Until recently, the Kigali office had only 30 investigators. Today there are 66 investigators, but only 14 working vehicles. Critics of both the Rwandan government and the tribunal emphasize that failed justice will mean ong term instability for Rwanda. Hutus must be convinced that they did not return to a country where the legal system is rigged against them; Tutsis must be persuaded that the tribunal is serious about avenging the deaths of their families and friends.

"The stakes are very high," said Christopher Hurd, head of African Studies at the Center for Strategic and International Studies. "If justice is not done, people will take the law into their own hands."

# keeping force have been trying to incentives. Journalists at disarma-velt Johnson, has declared he will persuade the half-dozen factions ment centers have reported emo-

THE lone black juror in the O.J. Simpson civil trial was lismissed last week after the judge learned that her daughter worked for the prosecutors who failed to convict Simpson of murder 16 months ago.

Superior Court Judge Hiroshi Fujisaki ordered the new jury to ignore its 14 hours of delibera-tions and start over to reach a verdict. The new panel deliberated for about five hours before breaking for the weekend.

The female juror was removed | about the daughter's employfrom the panel after the Los Angeles District Attorney's Office faxed a letter to Fujisaki informing him that the juror's daughter works as a legal secretary at the district attorney's

Juror Dismissed in O.J. Simpson Trial

Sources said the dismissed juror, a widow in her sixties still known only by number, once had dinner with former Simpson prosecutor Christopher Darden. A spokesman for District Attorney Gil Garcetti confirmed that the office sent the letter

ment, but would not comment on the report that the juror had had dinner with Darden.

Fullsaki did not tell the remaining jurors why their colleague was dismissed, except to say she "has been excused for

A new juror, an Asian-American computer programmer, was selected from a pool of four alternates by lottery. The newly configured panel of six

men and six women was ordered

mind all past deliberations and begin deliberating anew," Fujisaki said. The new panel has nine

whites, one Hispanic, one Asian-American and one Jamaicanborn man who said he is of black and Asian parentage. The criminal jury that acquitted Simpson had nine African-American

"This is another strange development in a case filled with strange developments," said Erwin Chemerinsky, a University of Southern California law professor who has been folto start over. "You are instructed lowing the trial. Chemerinsky

to disregard and put out of your | said it is too soon to know what the significance of the juror's dismissal will be.

Simpson, who was acquitte of the double murders of Ronald Lyle Goldman and Nicole Brown Simpson, is being sued in civil court for wrongful death by the families of the victims, who are seeking financial damages. On Tuesday last week, hours

before the jury received its instructions, the judge learned that at least two jurors received at their homes letters that included a pitch for the services of agent Bud Stewart in any post-verdict deals struck with tabloids, television and publishers.

# Mexico Rediscovers Its Fiery Spirit

John Ward Anderson in Tequila

O NCE a key component of barroom brawls in spaghetti westerns and monumental hangovers of American youths, the firewater that took its name from this small town just west of Guadalaiara is now the preferred drink in Mexico's most

Those who think Mexicans have a hereditary fondness for tequila or are constitutionally better equipped to handle it will be surprised to learn that, in fact, many Mexicans have long shunned the drink of revolutionary heroes and legendary hangovers. For more than a decade, far more tequila has flowed north of the Rio Grande than south of it.

But now, thanks to better production methods, glitzy marketing gimmicks and its booming popularity abroad, Mexicans are renewing a long-lost love affair with their national drink. Longer aging in oak | timated 15.3 million gallons of poor campesinos, but then all the | trian entrepreneur who came up | gious. This is our future."

barrels, stringent quality controls and packaging in fancy bottles have spawned a new breed of "designer." tequilas that are - dare it be said?

 smooth and even ailky.
 There was a time when tequila was a cheap product — drunk only by the lower classes when they had a fight with their sweetheart, drunk listening to sad music," said Dionisio E. Baquedano, a top executive at Casa Pedro Domecq, which makes Sauza, the most popular brand of tequila in Mexico.

"But it has become more refined. he continued. "And now people drink it before lunch or dinner in the highest-class restaurants."

Young, upwardly mobile Mexicans in particular have adopted top-shelf tequilas as their own, pushing sales of the most expensive brands up 85 percent last year despite the country's lingering economic recession.

Last year, Mexicans drank an es-

tequils, up a whopping 51 percent from 1995. The country is on the verge of overtaking the United States as the world's leading tequila But seriously, you say, how high

brow can tequila really get? At Mexico City's Agave Azul restaurant, named after the lily plant ed a bottle of tequila and got | from which tequila is made, a 1.5 ounce glass of Herradura Seleccion thusiasts can take home the whole

Mexicans don't "shoot" or "slam"

bottle for \$370.

these prestige tequilas, and generally don't mix them. Befitting their new-found snob appeal, they are savored straight in fancy glasses that enhance their color and bouquet, and they are sipped accompanied by a slice of lime (never lemon) and a

foreigners started to drink it and the Mexicans followed the trend," said Francisco Lopez, manager of Agave Azul, which has a seven-page menu offering 79 brands of tequila.

It is more than simply a fad and marketing phenomenon, said Jose Antonio Garcia, general manager of El Madrono, a Mexico City liquor store that sells more than 230 types of tequila in bottles of all shapes, sizes and colors.

"Today, people don't want cheap Suprema costs about \$22.50. Or en- | they say it's bad. So the producers are changing their processes to create better tequilas that are in all respects richer, with darker colors, bigger bouquets and smoother tastes - like a whiskey or a

Ironically, the booming popularity of this most Mexican of liquors - first used in a rugged form hundreds of years ago by Aztecs in reli-

with a slick marketing gimmick — putting a tiny cactus inside a clear bottle of tequila and charging as much as \$100 a bottle.

Mexican tequila producers have disdain for this brand, called Porfidio, noting that the maker doesn't actually produce the tequila, but buys it from other companies. Nonetheless, Mexicans begrudgingly credit the company for seeing the huge potential of expensive, well-marketed tequils. As rich Mexilas abroad than at home, they returned to Mexico and demanded higher quality tegulia. And producers began copying Porfidio's up-scale marketing and pricing tactics. Thus, a tequila craze was born.

'There's a huge growth in the foreign market for tequila, but in 1996, the growth in Mexican sales was really, really big - 35 percent," said Carlos Camarena about the Tapatio small glass of sangrita, a spicy concoction that looks and tastes like a
Bloody Mary without the alcohol.

"Tequila used to be a drink of
Tequila used to be a drink of



# **Divided by American Dreams**

Jane S. Jaquette

THE PAN-AMERICAN DREAM By Lawrence E. Harrison Basic Books, 310pp, \$25

HEN I was a graduate stu-dent in the '60s, studying Southeast Asia and Latin America, among the most influential theories were David McClelland's that modernization regulres mothers to raise children motivated by "need-achievement," and F.X. Sutton's distinction between backward traditional societies ("particularistic, communal, and ascriptive") and their modern betters ("universalistic, Individualistic and achievement-

Lawrence Harrison's new book, The Pan-American Dream, returns to this genre to argue that Latin Americans are "50 years behind" the United States and Canada, and to ask whether they will ever catch up. Harrison is a veteran of decades of experience in the region, working for the U.S. Agency for International Development (AID) in five countries, including Nicaragua.

In Harrison's view, the unprogressive "Ibero-Catholic" culture of Latin America was reinforced by the | another obvious source of potential |

the collapse of communism in 1989 ended a rather different dream: that Latin America might have a socialist future. As the Confucian/Tao ethic can explain East Asian prosperity, Harrison maintains, "Anglo-Protestant" values of "future, work, frugality, education, merit, and community" explain the economic success of North Americans. The lack of those qualities, including the absence of a strong ethical sense, according to Harrison, explains Latin American fallures. He adds that the

theory that underdevelopment was

created a self-image of victimization among Latin Americans. The "dream" of Harrison's title is the Partnership for Development and Prosperity, the successor to the Enterprise for the Americas initiative announced by President Bush in 1990 and endorsed by President Clinton in December 1994. Harrison believes that the Partnership is destined for failure if the cultural causes of underdevelopment are not addressed. He does not deal with

"defensive nationalism" of Latin American economic and foreign policies, which were in vogue until Harrison's analysis is inconsis-

tent, overwhelmingly anecdotal and ultimately unsatisfying. Latin American underdevelopment cannot be attributed to only one cause, cultural or otherwise, because it is overdetermined: by its colonial history, by its 19th-century caudillos and its 20th-century authoritarian leaders; by the lessons learned from the Depression (which fed the economic nationalism Harrison deplores); and by the profound disparities between rich and poor, landowner and peasant, European and indigenous - conditions not mainly due to U.S. imperialism and shared by Harrison's contemporary Latin American "dependence" have East Asian examples.

Harrison fails to link his analysis of culture to his critique of misguided economic policies, which, he tells us, were products of intellec-tual hubris and Marxist and dependency "nonsense," not Ibero-Catholic values. Far from present ing an argument for cultural causality. Harrison stirs the pot of triumphalism and cultural xenophobia, citing the few studies that agree with his views, and ignoring many others that do not. There is nothing Pan-American about this dream.

Kolumkilli, who comes with the croft like a blot on the title.

The same strength that's helped get Bjartur where he is makes him hell to live with. His wives tend to dry,' he would say. 'I've been wet die young. His children do the same - or, if they survive, clear out as | been a whit the worse for it." soon as they can. A notable exception is Asta Sollilja, who may not be Laxness introduces the cooperative his daughter at all (there are ru- movement: Many of Bjartur's neighnores to suit his current mood, that | vide their own capital and supplied tur's wife just before their marriage) | chants and bankers, who are but whom he loves with as much | cused of taking excessive profits

ishes her from the croft. He hears of been for the Nobel judges. It's good her from time to time - she is liv- to have him back.

ing in poverty not far away - but tries to stick to his course. The novel's underlying questions are whether Bjartur can keep his farm and whether, with his formidable pigheadedness, he will reject such opportunities to reconcile with Asta Sollilja as fate throws their way. The father and daughter are im-

pressive characters, but Laxness is perhaps even more skilled at sketching his supporting players, such as the regional rich lady, whose paeans to the Icelandic peasantry reach Pecksniffian levels of sanctimoniousness; Bjartur's reckless son Gvendur, who misses the ship on which he is to sail to America because of a dalliance with a pretty girl and who then finds that the impetus to emigrate has deserted him; Asta Sollilja's ancient grandmother, whose emotions are as creaky and out of use as her joints but whose unfazed mutterings inject humor into the family's every catastrophe; and the local bailiff. who would not blink if accused of murder, "but with one crime he would not have his name connected: if anyone insinuated that he was making money, the ice was broken and his tongue was loosened; such a

VEN filtered through translation, Laxness is a orman writer. He can capture an elution, Laxness is a brilliant sive truth in a short span of words: "Some days seem strangely idiotic when one looks about one: they ap pear to be incapable of answering anything, whereas other days at ntelligent and can provide the arswer to everything." And, especially in describing landscape and the weather, he can rise to stemwinding eloquence: "It started raining, very innocently at first, but the sky was packed tight with cloud and gradually the drops grew bigger and heavier, until it was autumn's dismal rain that was falling - rain that! seemed to fill the entire world with ts leaden beat, rain suggestive in its dreariness of everlasting waterfalls between the planets, rain that thatched the heavens with drabness and brooded oppressively over the whole countryside like a disease. strong in the power of its flat. unvarying monotony, its smaller ing heaviness, its cold, unrelenting cruelty."

It seems typical of Biartur, whose work keeps him outside most of the day, that he has come to terms with the infernal rain: "It's nothing but damned eccentricity to want to be more than half my life and never

About midway through the novel. and Laxness's refusal to join it turns Their relationship begins to out to be not as shortsighted as one

There have been years - recent ones, in fact — when the Nobel writer who emerged from obscurity only to fall quickly back into it, Hallcountry whose work might have been lost to outsiders had it rol

# Northern Exposures

**Dennis Drabelle** 

INDEPENDENT PEOPLE: An Epic By Halldor Laxness Translated from the Icelandic by J.A. Thompson Vinlage, 482pp, Paperback, \$14

HIS NEW edition of Halklor Laxness's great novel — the first in English since 1946 arrives with a sheaf of encomia. Brad Leithauser, who has con-tributed an introduction, calls it "the book of [his] life." E. Annie Proulx rates it among her "Top Ten Favorite Books of All Time," and Jane Smiley calls it "one of the best books of the twentleth century.' The fanfare is enhanced by the author's longevity and reputation — he was born in 1902, is still living in iceland and won the Nobel Prize for

I'm happy to join the chorus. Independent People has virtually everything a novel can offer: a skillfully evoked setting, characters who imbed themselves in your consciousness, passion and scope, narrative brio, and a translation that can be enjoyed as a model of English prose. It may not be the book of my life or yours — that's a matter of slander was more than he could taste and temperament. But it is certainly artful and engrossing.

Its protagonist, Bjartur of Sum-merhouses (his "croft" or small farm), is the independent chap to whom the title mainly refers: cussedly independent, at times irrationally so - but his excesses can be forgiven because his lot is so arduous and his achievement so hardwon. Also, he is a poet, a proud uphokler of the Nordic saga tradiion. While others daydream during long hours of sheep-tending and farm management, he fashions and memorizes verses. So keen is his appetite for poetry that he becomes odd man out at a prosaic funeral: The mourners "stood with bowed heads, all except Bjartur, who would never dream of bowing his nead for an unrhymed prayer."

Having toiled as a farmhand for 18 years, as the story opens (at roughly the turn of the century) Bjartur has just bought Summerrouses and stocked it with a herd of sheep. Now his task is to hang onto his assets, in the face of the harsh Icelandic climate, the vagaries of the wool market, and the reputed presence of a demon of old,

fervor as his stolid heart can The coop proves to be no panacea.

Sue Wheat reports on the evangelical zeal behind this week's World Microcredit Summit in Washington

# Banking on a better future

from Chittagong university, lent the equivalent of \$30 to 42 basket weavers to help them purchase bamboo. The interest rate was higher than the banks, but lower than the money-lenders. "I saw how the Bangladeshi people suffered and how the money they earned went straight into the pockets of money lenders and I realised there must be something terribly wrong with the economics that I was teaching," he said.

Against the advice of banks and government, Yunus carried on giving out "micro" loans, and in 1983 formed the Grameen Bank, meaning "village bank". It now has 1.8 million poor borrowers in 22,000 out of 68,000 villages in Bangladesh and lends \$30 million every month.

Other institutions quickly followed worldwide, including the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (Brac), Bank Rakyat Indonesia Unit Desa, Accion in Latin America, and K-Rep in Kenya. Thousands of smaller micro-finance institutions (MFIs) are run by non-governmental organisations (NGOs), often as a part of a broader aid programme.

Oureye Fall, of Keur Madaro village in Senegal, is a typical borrower. A \$38 loan from the NGO, Maison Familiales Rurales, means Oureye can buy mangoes without having to pay extortionate interest rates to her landowner. At the end of last season. she repaid her loan with interest, made \$85 profit, and bought a mattress and new clothes for her children. "For the first time I was able to

afford this luxury," she says. Fall is not alone. The World Bank now estimates that MFIs reach some 16 million people in develop-ing countries and have a total port-folio of \$2.5 billion, with massive growth potential. Loan repayment rates are extraordinarily successful frequently reaching 98 per cent. The poor have proved they are in-deed bankable, despite having no

Success is often put down to the solidarity group" of five or six borowers, which meets regularly. As default by any one member must be

lan Traynor in Bonn

N 1974, Professor Mohammad | carried by the group, peer support Yunus, a Bangladeshi economist | and pressure keen repayments and pressure keep repayments high. Savings are also crucial, both as funerals and food shortages -and to provide a capital base for the Most MFIs focus on women, and

with women accounting for more than 900 million of the world's 1.3 billion absolute poor (defined as living on less than \$1 a day), and being excluded from conventional banking services more than men, the need for female-focused poverty alleviation schemes is unarguable. As MFIs also often provide literacy, health care and business training, as well as an opportunity for women to meet together, being part of a group can be extremely liberating. Becoming financially independent also increases women's self-confidence and status in the household and community.

In many ways, micro-finance is a donor's dream. As women have proved to be better repayers than men, "empowerment" and financial efficiency go hand-in-hand. Com-bine this with the 1990s free-market, individualistic philosophy, and it is obvious why this week's World Microcredit Summit in Washington has become so politically attractive.
"It's a sort of micro-finance evan-

gelism." says James Copestake, lecturer in development economics at the University of Bath. "The idea that we can reconcile the new right political thinking of being commer-cially tougher by providing ald to small businesses, and help the poor at the same time, is like a magical way of breaking though an age old problem." Results International workers, who are organising the summit, do seem to be on an almost

But Ben Rogaly, former policy adviser at Oxfam, warns: "The hardmicro-finance evangelism approach could run risks, such as diverting aid away from muchneeded primary care programmes." He and others also warn that as donors such as the World Bank's Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest, whose 23 member donors are jointly allocating more than \$200



Counting on support . . . the women of Subiki village in Bangladesh

nillion to micro-finance, insist that | eral donors are taking a cautiously MFIs be financially sustainable and ar-reaching, programmes are beginning to bypass the poorest and focus on the middle poor. Clare Short, Britain's shadow min-

ster for overseas development, is scornful of such reactions, "We have so much evidence that micro-finance schemes work," she says. "There's nothing in the world that doesn't ave some problems somewhere. so why pour cold water on something hat is so obviously good?"

But women's empowerment complex. Anne Marie Goetz, of the Institute of Development Studies in Britain, and Rina Sen Gupts, from Bangladesh, point out that 63 per cent of the Bangladeshi women they questioned had partial, very limited or no control over their loans, passing the money over to their husbands — sometimes by their choice, sometimes by force.
Virtually all multilateral and bilat-

positive approach, and commercial banks are being lured in although the ethics of the North's banks again profiting from the hard work of the poor is questionable.

But the jury is still out on whether the summit's goal of reaching 100 million poor families by 2005 through raising \$26 billion is attainable, and if it would necessarily be a good thing if it was. Market saturation is one hindrance - there is after all, a limit to the number of egg sellers, dress makers and basket

weavers a community can absorb. Despite the cautionary tales, conidence in micro-finance as a poverty alleviation strategy is high. Compared with the devastating effects of the green revolution or of misplaced aid, even the critics are hopeful.

Microfinance, by Susan Johnson and Ben Rogaly, is published by Oxfam and ActionAld, +44 (0)1865-311311

In Brief HE US economy surged in the final three months of last year, making 1996 the second best year for growth since the late 1980s. Inflation fell to the lowest level in three decades. More than 2 million new jobs were also created, taking unemployment down to 5.3 per cent. RICHARD LINES, the former MTM chemicals mogul who rubbed shoulders with senior Conservatives and talked of having been a member of the élite Special Boat Service, has begun a two-year jail sentence following conviction for fraudulently inflating his company's worth by \$400 million. RELAND will outstrip Britain in the prosperity stakes next year, according to data from the Westminster Parliament's economics research division, with Irish income per head \$9 higher than its near neighbour. Britain is currently 16th in the league of

> TOYOTA president Hiroshi Okuda threw a timebomb into the European single currency debate by issuing a threat to Britain that failure to join could see its multi-million dollar investments switched to the Continent. But he later said a commitment to EMU would be only one factor in any

economic success, behind such

countries as Iceland, Austria,

Australia and Sweden.

LIZABETH FORSYTH, for-mer aide to Asil Nadir who was convicted of handling stolen money, was freed by the Appeal Court in London after a judge said her five-year sentence had been "disproportionately" long.

ORSCHE'S prolonged sick-ness was pronounced over when it disclosed tripling of prof-its — from DM10.3 million (\$6 million) to DM36 million in the first six months of 1996.

RAUD is costing the UK insurance industry more than 81 billion a year, despite the high-profile fight against crime launched three years ago, according to a Datamonitor study.

### If, as expected, the 1997 job-FOREIGN EXCHANGES

ing to join the single currency could be disqualified as their conomic performance will be judged on the basis of inaccurate figures for inflation and output.

Sterling rates Sterling rate February 3 January 27 Austrelia 2.1015-2.1041 2.1040-2.1066 Austria 18.62-18.64 18.60.18.74 .1646-2.1667 Canada · 10.09-10.10 8.94-8.95 2.8467-2.8495 12.48-12.49 1.0103-1.0122 2.614-2.617 198.15-198.40

2.9732-2.9765 Netherlands New Zealar 2.3394-2.3426 Portugal 268.04-266.69

285.46-285.78 225.03-225.28 223.68 223.87 11.78-11.77 11.74-11:76 2 2885-2.2919 | 2.2951-2.2980 1.6114-1.6124 1.6230-1.6240 1.3890-1.3705 1.3899-1.3713 FT68100 Share kadex up 45.8 at 4267.8. FT88 250

2.1829-2.1851

10.13-10.14

8.95-8.96

2.6573-2.6599

12.56-12.57

1.0134-1.0163

2,588-2,590

193.63-193.91

2,9847-2,9882

2.8539-2.3570

Index down 19.5 at 4573.7. Gold down \$9.95 at \$344.00

# **Lovers and Other Strangers**

Michael Mewshaw

GUIDED TOURS OF HELL By Francine Prose Metropolitan, 241pp, \$23

M OST PEOPLE profess to enjoy travel. Few confess to the crime of tourism. Like racism or anti-Semitism, that's something othappreciation of this paradox, and in Guided Tours Of Hell, a pair of novellas, she shows how yesterday's tragedies have become today's comedies.

In the title story, an American playwright named Landau fetches up in Prague at the First International Kafka Congress. As the participants make a pilgrimage to a Nazi death camp, Prose suggests her theme in a single sentence: "Tiny nips of transcendence nibble at his line, but given even the gentlest tug, they slip back into the water, the oily shoals of boredom, ego and resentment, and let's be | cessful. Although it addresses some |

vived two years in the camp, where he somehow conducted a love affair

lating introductions.

attack, and Landau runs away.

with Kafka's sister Ottla."

A failure at everything from art to infidelity. Landau resents Jiri Krakauer's sexual magnetism, not to mention his penchant for appropriating the experiences of other Holocaust survivors. While the situdevelopment after their early annihi-

When Landau accuses Krakauer of lying about the death camp, the memoirist seems to suffer a heart

The novella unfortunately has the defects it sought to dramatize. An account of people unsure how to respond to the Holocaust, it's written ov an author who appears to share

this uncertainty. The second novella, "Three Pigs in Five Days," is much longer yet also denser, more stylish and suchonest, fury at Jiri Krakauer, that of the same issues, it does so in a terrible poet and memoirist whose I language that coaxes the characters I time's sharp blade."

complicatedly alive with a few dest strokes. Nina, a writer, works for her lover, Leo, who owns a magazine. Allo, that allows them both to take theme tours to France. On the first trip, they tumble from bed to bed in a series of hotels where the famous and infamous have slept. But then Leo sends Nina to Paris alone to do a piece about "the small new hotels and secret bistros of

Desolated, she assumes he's ers do. Francine Prose has a fine | ation is rich in irony, Prose doesn't | ditched her -- an assumption that allow the characters much room for | makes sense when the hotel where he reserves her a room proves to be a former bordello, now owned by Leo's ex-mistress. After Madame describes her affair with Leo. Nina wanders around the City of Light, lonely as a rain cloud, ruing all that she fears has ended.

When Leo shows up and claims he always meant to join her in Paris. Nina's grateful, but feels "less like a woman talking to her lover than like a bewildered juror assigned to a case so contradictory that it bordered on the metaphysical." But despite Leo, she continues to

believe in "the existence of love be-

yond reason, beyond the reach of

a local nabob had his way with Bjar- and thus circumvent the local mer-

change, however, after the pair trav- might have expected. els to Reykjavik, the Icelandic metropolis. Sleeping in the same bed to economize, they have a near-escape Prize has gone to a little-known from incest, which leaves the daughter plagued by guilt and the father mired in inexpressible anxidor Laxness, happily, is a different ety. When Asta Sollilia becomes case: a major writer from a small pregnant by a houseguest, Bjartur renounces his paternity and banBonn snubs single currency hopefuls Stark told a conference of

ERMANY wants to prevent tries joining the single currency in two years' time, even if they meet entrance terms this year, a key Bonn official signalled last week. In remarks likely to ignite

ontroversy outside Germany, drgen Stark, the number two at the finance ministry, indicated hat "paper" qualifications would not necessarily gain some countries membership to what Germany would prefer to be a small core of countries kicking

off the single currency in 1999. "The markets have overdone expectations that a large number of countries can qualify. We have to make sure that these countries also stand for stability." Mr

German media bosses. "There are member states that

be well-advised to . . . respect that they should not have to follow the rigid rules of the European central bank from the start." Italy and Spain, both desper-

ate to join European Monetary Union, were seen as the two countries relegated to Mr Stark's vaiting list. But Germany's own fitness to

oin the euro club was thrown into fresh doubt as the government's 1997 economic projections highlighted the widening gulf between Bonn's determined political rhetoric on the single currency and the reality of Germany's wretched economic performance.

The annual report on economic

gross domestic product, well up on the 2.5 per cent forecast as recently as November by the finance minister, Theo Waigel. The new figure puts Germany just inside the single currency ceiling of 3 per cent that must be

ichieved this year to qualify for

Independent analysis and

bankers say that even the revised figure of 2.9 per cent is over-optimistic and that Germany will fail to pass the RMU test. The country is struggling to cope with record postunemployment, which could hit 4.5 million this month. and the cabinet's forecast of 2.5 per cent growth this year is also viewed as too rosy.

less rate exceeds the government forecast of 4.1 million, prospects predicted a budget deficit this year of 2.9 per cent of spending will wreck the cabinet John Palmer in Brussels adds: Some EU countries aim-

> Eurostat — the official statistics arm of the European Commission — will report later this month that it has evidence that official figures exaggerate inflation. "We expect the report to reach similar conclusions to tudies in the US that, because of the impact, not least, of infor-mation technology, inflation is far lower than appears to be the case," a commission official said this week.

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Association of Commonwealth Universities

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r further details contact: The Postgraduate Secretars The Use the at of order in the schools EXCLERENCE IN TURN DISSY ASSOCIATION IN



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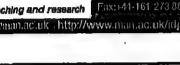
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**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

Happy reunion . . . Animal is greeted by fellow activist John after five days underground PHOTO: MARCHILL

# The scum also rises

John Vidal salutes the road activists who took their protest underground

AST WEEK the Daily Mail was offering £3,000 to anyone who would tell them about "Animal", the 16-year-old Colchester girl who spent five days in the Fairmile tunnels to try to slow the A30 ripping through some of Britain's

most beautiful acres. No one was tempted to tell tales, but when she came blinking into the Devon simlight and the arms of the law, Animal refused to talk to the abloid newspapers, which have consistently labelled road protesters as scum.

Poor Daily Mail. Poor Michael Howard. Those he has successfully criminalised for damaging blades of grass, whom he wants to put on the same legal level as hijackers and manslaughterers, and whom he is even now bugging and spying on as mainstream party politics? if terrorists, are being revealed as Besides, as youth training, the

LIVE, you've been my agent for

20 years. I'm sorry you're re-

luciant to take on the metaphysical

thriller. Clearly you don't think Re-

naissance Lucca is what a publisher

But I do see what you mean about

self-help books. There they are -

rows of them, screaming with gold

and silver and red type. Maybe I

First off, I'd need the title - and I

won't make it snappy. Prima asso-

lished six years ago, is still at num-

ber four in the psychology league

looked carefully at the style and

structure. Typeface is very impor-

should give it a go, after all.

needs right now.

weeks of last year.

rather peaceful, happy and balanced people who still have a few ideals about country, land and justice.

Even worse for the politicians: Animal's parents, good Middle England, totally support her. Rather than digging up vermin under the Fairmile oaks, the state has found truffles. The metaphor is clear. We are driving our best critics underground, in all senses.

Instead of trying to suppress such activity, could not politicians be magnanimous enough to celebrate such endeavour? What has barely been noticed in five years of road protests is that, for all their often shambolic exterior, they are a first-class finishing school for people wanting to do citizen service.

Significantly, the politicians barring Tony Benn - have shied away, barely acknowledging their existence except to vilify them. Is it any wonder the tunnellers and treeclimbers find nothing attractive in

Self-help guide to writing a bestseller

the most banal message. I AM ENOUGH! Let Go Of The Little

Things! Never let a chapter go more

than a page or so without subhead-

ings. Balance problems ("Nobody loves me") with solutions ("I experi-

Content is more tricky. The au-

thors spend many of their coplous

exclamation marks apologising for

the lack of it. "Yes, it is that simple!

"That's all there is to it!" Broadly the

formula is this: admit just what a

mess you are in, then suspend judg-ment on yourself and others. Love

Long gone are the days of John

Cleese and Robin Skynner jokily

les. She believes we create every

qualification for writing one of these

lose on all the fonts Windows 95 clusively by deep resentment.

In spiritual insights into living? We could call it Celestine

Can offer. Size does matter, too. Go There's a new orthodoxy grow-upper case, go bold to bang home ing, and I don't'buy it. In order to ready did. And made millions.

ence love wherever I go").

lute amongst the psychology scribes yourself a lot (verbally, that is) and

is clearly Susan Jeffers. Her Feel | be congratulated for having done so

table. But the big one has to be the | dipping our toes into the scary wa-

gender gazetteer Men Are From ters of family dynamics and therapy.

Mars, Women Are From Venus by One of the longest-running suc-

the other John Gray (not, sadiy, the ceases is Louise Hay, whose How

Guardian-contributing politics don). To Heal Your Life has been on the

That sold 31,000 copies in the final | bestseller lists since the early eight-

So Don't Get Down, Get On Up so called Illness' in our body". Like

could be in there with them. I've her, I've had cancer — a regular

The Fear And Do It Anyway, pub- well with such a shitty deal.

road protests could hardly be bettered. Here is a genuine cadet force run without leaders, on a shoestring budget, where the coin is selfrespect, self-discipline, hard work, initiative training, leadership and wit. Not all, it must be said, pass with honours. But if you want to see care in the community actually working, then the road-protest

camps are models. The camps, too, have proved successful job-training exercises. Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth and other blue-chip environment groups may be establishment and middle-aged now, but they mostly have a radical past. Just as the peace movement and Greenham Common threw up extraordinary people vilified for their commitment at the time, so British protest today is throwing up tomorrow's leaders,

and many are working for groups that the Government subsidises. As Animal was chilling out after her underground protest, the formidable Lovelee was minding her. Their priorities were clear. "What she needs after that ordeal," says Lovelee, "is a damn good party."

blinkered egotism that at its worst promotes a kind of mind and body

Ubermensch. This is just the kind of

arrogance for which conventional

medicine is regularly criticised.

Recognise your pain or you die. What kind of help is this? Bad

karma alone did not get me and mil-

lions of others into cancer wards. I

will not be made to feel guilty for my

illness. Admittedly, only the extrem-

ists take that approach. Most of

these books have one, simple, com-

floss. Our new terror is other peo-

unique selling point of these titles is

- How To Crystallise Better Lov-

ing. Or how about updating Dante

ing? We could call it 'Celestine

ple. Religion fades, natural disasters

will live to regret their selfishness. A similar, pro-propagation evanput forward the thesis that you can cure yourself, you have to believe you got yourself into the mess in the first place. It's a theory of such

childless is a story in itself. Compare this with the joyful reporting of any advance in fertility reatment, however expensive or remote, improbable or unconvincing. Last month the headline "Men with no sperm count to become fathers" made front-page news, despite being based on the cases of two prospective fathers at one private London clinic. "I would say it could help tens of thousands of people mon-sense observation - what | said a director of this establishment. your aunt might tell you over a It was added that the procedure

This is excellent news, but it seems worth remembering that the no longer terrify. "We are now alone sperms thus retrieved at bargain with each other." Perhaps the prices, would then be used in IVF, which has a success rate of 14.1 per that you're not alone in being alone. | cent per cycle, costs around £2,500 | So I'm drafting proposals for The | and subjects the would-be mother to near the glossy, thriving fertility industry will be aware that its profits, in contrast to those made by most

# OPINION 23 Suffer the children

Catherine Bennett

feels a wave of nausea coming on at the current obsession with fertility

OR the sensitive, one of the more wounding sights of recent days has been the spectacle of the Sewell family of Pucklechurch, in Avon, which proudly assembled itself for inspection on the arrival of Mrs Sewell's 15th child, Rachel, "I always said I'd have six children," said Mrs Sewell, aged 45, "but once we married they kept coming at a rate of about one every 18 months." Of course, there are ways in which this localised population explosion could have been avoided, but no such insinuation was allowed to spoil the prospect of the Sewells' enduring and untrammelled fecundity.

On this happy occasion even the normally severe Daily Mail was prepared to gloss over the couple's obvious difficulties in supporting their enormous brood on an income of £220 a week — "some bills have to take priority over others". Indeed, you could only conclude, from the celebratory tone of this good-news story, that Britain would be a better place if more people had 15 children, instead of the measly one or two which is the most the average woman is now able, or willing, to produce. More and more women with a subbornness which perplexes and infuriates many commentatora — refuse to produce any children whatsoever. These blighted refuseniks, these callous egg-trashers are regularly reminded that they

relism informs the incessant fertilty stories that now take up so much space in British newspapers, Some, such as the tales of child-bearing grandmas and runaway surrogates, f multiple births and plummeting sperm counts, are really fertility reakshows; others make their point by illustrating, over and over, the suffering of couples who cannot have children. Sitting in vacant nurseries, or bleak parks, they describe their repeated attempts at IVF, their abandoned hopes of adoption, their regrets that they had not met earlier, or started "trying" sooner. No resolution ever seems to be achieved. The misery of the

dram --- spun into a vacuous candy- | would cost "no more than £600".

wonder private clinics are so keen to thrill the public with the latest pioneering treatments.

It's true that these stories are news, science is continually opening up new possibilities, and therefore moral dilemmas that had not been dreamed of in our parents' day. But they also express a conviction that the more babies the better; the fewer, the sadder.

Choosing whether or not to have children, whether to bring another being to this great stage of fools, is a serious and private decision. But it is now not left to be that. The widespread assumption is that parenthood is so attractive and prestigious that any chance of child-bearing, however minuscule, must be seized by everybody. Possibly because sophisticated Western women now spend most of their reproductive years trying not to get pregnant, they feel virtuously distinguished when they do.

Producing a child seems to be all hat matters — no matter how it is cared for or brought up afterwards. That fallen City star, the weird Nicola Horlick, rarely seen without a recently breast-fed infant aprawled about her person, is considered a 'supermum', queen of the multipares, for having produced the five ittle Horlicks, confirming that quantity of mothering is still considered more important than quality.

For parents, the obsessive attention now lavished on reproductive medicius is guaranteed to make them feel they have joined the beatified and can look down with satisfaction on the damned. Perhaps it is something not far off schadenfreude that explains the proliferation of baby stories, just as it supports the inexhaustible stream of true-life medical drumas on television. Only the bealthy can relish the spectacle of the sick; only the childed, the offsprung, can take a complacent pleasure in stories of frustrated child-bearing. For those who have come to define themselves as infertile, these reports are, obviously, agonising.

HE media craze for progeny is ludicrously conceiled. Are British babies so much more desirable than the foreign variety? In our vanity, we lecture Third World women on their duty to contraceive, while congratulating our very own Sewells and Horlicks for choosing the opposite course. But prosperous babies do just as much damage to the world about them, or more. As Joy Williams writes in her essay The Case Against Babies, published in the latest Granta: "The US population is growing faster than that of 18 other industrialised nations and, in terms of energy consumption, when an American couple stops spawning at two babies, it's the same as an average Eas Indian couple stopping at 66, or an Ethiopian couple drawing the line at 1,000." In this overcrowded island, babies grow up to take up one of the things we can least afford: space. Even if the population begins to level, new social mores decree that its members will demand more individual room than ever before.

 In the circumstances, we seem. Alien Across The Breakfast Table | protracted drug treatments and in | with the utmost perversity, to be vasive operations which will, in all | congratulating the wrong people. If likelihood, turn out to have been fu- nothing can compensate some coubooks. But unlike her, I don't be - a man goes on a journey and tile. Any customer who has gone | ples for their childlessness, it would surely make life easier if people without children were no longer pitted so estenatiously, but regarded businesses, are built on failure. No | as models of civic responsibility.



# Swan synchronicity

Mark Cocker

ECHNICALLY the panorama visible from the hides at the Wildfowl and Wetlands Trust reserve at Welney in Norfolk was completely without colour. Overhead there was the dead white of total cloud cover. Below it was the even, lifeless white of snow and icecovered meadows. Even most of the birds which by late afternoon had begun to congregate in hundreds, then thousands, were themselves

However, this slightly overstates their uniformity, since wild swans are never just a single colour. These huge creatures — amongst the world's heaviest flying birds — combine a subtle range of tones, from the rich yellow-white of double cream to the immaculate purged white of a seagull's breast. As they powered overhead or surged down

their legs descending like an aircraft's undercarriage at the moment of landing, these whooper and Bewick's swans transformed the silent view into a hectic and power-

ful spectacle.

Not that the location itself is without its inherent drama. Welney lies on the two great rectilinear drains that were carved through the region in the 17th century. Running north-south for almost 40km and known as the Hundred Foot Washes, the dykes helped convert the East Anglian Fens, once one of Europe's largest wetlands, into some of the most productive agricultural land in Britain. Today, it is an absolutely flat sea of black peat soil, whose emptiness is its most singular feature. Ironically, all that remains of the older, more diverse landscape is the area closest to the

400 hectares of these flood mead-

The wild swans are not its only inbitants (wintering ducks, for instance, are often present in greater numbers), but they are its most famous and principal attraction. And this is something the Trust has worked hard to establish. From an original population of just a few hundred, it has slowly built up swan numbers to around 4,000-6,000 every winter - the largest single gathering in all Europe. To encourage their loyalty to the site they are fed dietary supplements such as potatoes and grain. During bad veather, areas of water are kept free of ice and to add to the spectacle produced at their regular feeding times, the swans are illuminated by doodlights each evening.

The impact of these feeding sessions is extraordinary. When the spadefuls of grain are scattered on the water, the formerly loose aggregates of swans and other wildfowl cohere into a solid block of white. The impression is not so much of a multitude of individuals contending with one another, as of a single organism functioning in unison, or of an abstract design composed of sin-uous necks and orange or yellow beaks, whose colours are enhanced by the artificial lighting.

I know of no other conservation organisation in Britain which has more successfully directed its wildlife assets to produce this level of natural theatre. It has about it an element of contrivance and of artifice, which suggests the hidden hand of Welney's creator, the late

Sir Peter Scott, one of the foremost

British wildlife artists this century. Wilderness purists, loyal to a vision of nature where man's presence has been largely eliminated, would probably blench at this level of conscious manipulation and at such commercialism - especially the loudspeaker commentaries interpreting the visual feast for the audience - but few could deny the power of the Welney display. Fewer still could miss its underlying message that nature is both important and enriching and warrants our deepest commitment.

### Chess Leonard Barden

I IASTINGS 1997 was looking 7 most promising from the British players' perspective a round or two from the finish, but it eventually ended in disappointment. Nunn and Hebden seemed to have the Premier sewn up between them, but were then caught by the Lithuanian Rozentalis; Plaskett led most of the way in the Challengers, yet the Latvian Rausis won first prize; and 12-year-old Luke McShane, just when he seemed assured of another IM norm, missed out by half a point.

The flu bug initiated some odd results, notably top-seeded Adams's recovery from 0/3 through three traws to three wins at the finish. The real British success, however, was Hebden, despite his last-round defeat. The Leicester GM is formidable on the Leigh weekend circuit, but this was his best international result.

Here, in Hebden v Nunn, his unpretentious opening soon takes a grip on the game. White gangs up pieces and pawns on the weak dark squares until Black sheds pawns in a vain bid for activity. Even at the end, White's f6 queen and f4 rook combine or mate on h4 - all dark squares -- while Hebden's total move count is light 10, dark 28.

The paradox is that the King's Indian Defence, where Nunn is a world expert, aims at active black counterplay on these same dark

### Hebden v Nunn

1 d4 Ni6 2 Ni3 g6 3 Nc3 d5 4 Bi4 Bg7 5 e3 0-0 6 Be2 c5 7 Ne5 Nc6 8 0-0 cxd4 9 exd4 Qb6 10 Nxc6 bxc6 11 Na4 Qa5 12 c3 Nd7 13 b4 Qd8 14 Qd2 c5 15 Bh6 Bxh6 16 Qxh6 Re8 17 Rfe1 Rb8 18 dxe5 Rxe5 19 Qd2 a5 20 Bf1 axb4 21 cxb4 Qf6 22 Rxe5 Nxe5 23 Re1 Kg7 24 Nc5 Bf5 25 a3 d4 26 f4 Nd7 27 Nxd7 Bxd7 28 Re5 c5 29 Rxc5 Bf5 30 Rd5 d3 31 Bxd3 Qa1+ 32 Bf1 Qxa3 33 Qd4+ f6 34 Rd6 Qxb4 35 Qxf6+ Kh6 36 h3 Qxf4 37 Rd4 Qe3+ 38 Kh2 Resigns.

Ex-world woman champion Xie Jun — the first Chinese player

to compete at Hastings - began in style with two fine wins, but in Conquest v Xie she was unable t fathom the occidental mysteries of the Tromp 2 Bg5 and White's subsequent tactics. Towards the end of the game, 25 . . . Nxd3 loses to 26 Qe7, 26 . . . Nxd3 to 27 Qc6. while after 27 Qxd4! Rxd4 allows 28 Re8 mate, and 27 . . . R7e8 falls to 28 Qc3 Nxd3 29 Qc6 Nc5 30 Rxc5.

### Conquest v Xie Jun

Red7 28 Qc3 Resigns.



from the board. This week, there are two puzzles: (a) can you recre ate the five-move game which reached this position? (b) place a black N on by and a white N on bl. and reach the new position by a four-move game.

No 2457: 1 Nxc6 Ne46f Nc4+ Rxc4 dxc4 3 Ne7) 2 Ne7 Nxc3 3 g7 (not 3 Kxc3 Rh34 and Rg3) Na4+ Kb3 Ra8 5 g8Q Rxg8 6 Nxg8 b5 7 Ne7 Nb6 8 Kb4 Ka6 9 Nc5 and

**GUARDIAN WEEKLY** 

4 c3 Bf5 5 f3 Nf6 6 c4 e6 7 Nc3 c6 8 g4 Bg6 9 h4 h6 10 Qb3 b6 11 Nh3 dxc4 12 Bxc4 Nd5 13 0-0-0 Bd6 14 Bxd6 Qxd6 15 e4 Nxc3 16 Qxc3 Nd7 17 h5 Bh7 18 Kb1 0-0-0 19 Ka1 Kb8 20 Nf2 f6 21 Ba6 c5 22 Qa3 Qg3 23 Rhf1 cxd4 24 Nd3 Ne5 25 Rc1 Rhe8 26 Qa4 Re7 27 Qxd4

No 2458

### LIANNIBAL of Carthage crossed the Alps with his elephants. Where did he get them, and how were they trained? The African elephant

today is regarded as untrainable.

A RARE Victorian railway carriage that has lain concealed inside a Devon bunga-

low for more than 50 years could

be restored to its former glory

following a planning application to demolish the building around it, writes Geoffrey Gibbs.

In the heyday of the Great Western Railway the comfortable

private-hire saloon would have

carried clubs and families on ex-

cursions to the seaside. But for

most of this century it has been

stationary and hidden — serving

Notes & Queries Joseph Harker

THE Carthagians regularly used the North African forest elephant for war, a breed now extinct. It was much smaller than its bush elephant cousins, on average about 2.5m at the shoulder. There is, however, evidence from coins that they also imported Indian

Hannibal apparently took 37 elephants with him to Italy from Spain. Most died en route, and perhaps a dozen survived to fight in his first major Italian battle, the Trebia, in 218 BC. A larger number was brought to Italy by his brother lasdrubal a few years later, but he and his army were defeated by the Romans before they could link up with Hannibal. — Jonathan Drake, Clapham, London

T IS a widespread fallacy that African elephants are untrainable. The largest working group in Africa, to my knowledge at least, vas in the then Belgian Congo | bucket with a noose around their earlier this century. They were used to move wood and other articles. In ts prime, the herd numbered more than 100. In Zimbabwe there is a herd of around five animals that are being trained to carry game scouts uring anti-poaching operations. raeme Cumming, Oxford

### S A man's bladder larger or smaller than that of a woman?

∧ T THIS very moment, mine is smaller. The answer would also vary with other circumstances - Aitman, Black Voices, Liverpool

size, age, fluid intake, bladder STHERE more justice or habits, renal function, anatomic varinjustice in the world? ation, and health. The bladder can expand quite incredibly in various

as the lounge of Kozie Kott in the | of the present owner, Ken

Home comforts from the age of steam

village of Cove, near Tiverton. Patrick Barter, a steam rail-

way enthusiast, believes it is one of only a handful of its type still in existence and is excited

by the good condition it is in,

having been protected from the

elements for many years. It was

The carriage was moved to its present position 100 metres

rom the old Exe Valley railway

line in 1941 by the grandfathe

Philip Hall, Winnipeg, Canada

WHAT is the origin of "kick the bucket"?

used in parts of Norfolk. The subse-

quent death-throe spasms of the

unfortunate animals created the

impression that they were "kicking

the bucket". The derivation is either

from Old French buquet - "a

balance" — or the fact that the rais-

ing of the yoke on a pulley resem-bled a bucket being lifted from a

would kick away the bucket. -

MANY modern American Eng-lish words — most notably

"jazz" and "OK" — owe their origins

to African languages, dialects and

Andy Parkin, Moortown, Leeds

one of about 50 produced by

the GWR works in Swindon.

A CCORDING to Zen Buddhism, there is equally half of one and half of the other. Most people assituations. But I doubt that anyone has been sadistic enough to line up ecruits and inflate their bladders sume that if, for example, evil could for such comparisons. — Professor somehow be eradicated from the world only good would remain. But this is impossible. If evil were to disappear, good would also necessarily cease to exist. That distinctions such as justice and injustice arise from human perception and do not essentially exist is an objective of Zen. -Daigaku Rummé, Fukui, Japan

Kerslake, a retired teacher from

Taunton. He said that because of

building difficulties at the height

placed the carriage in a field and built around it to produce a

of the war his grandfather had

Although he had received

uilding they had no plans to do

so while their existing tenants,

wife, Bridget, were living there.

Ken Beale (pictured) and his

permission to demolish the

### OST etymologists agree that the "bucket" refers to a kind of yoke that was used to hold pigs by their heels so that they could be slaughtered, and was particularly Any answers?

converted to run on electricity. how many more power stations would be needed to cope with the extra demand? — Paul Hibbert, Nottingham

WHAT is the effect on political theory if a democratic well. The term is known to date from at least the 16th century. socialist party becomes more The more interesting (and probarightwing than a liberal demo-cratic party? — Ian Broadbridge, bly apochryphal) origin relates to suicides who would stand on a neck and at the chosen moment

A RE there any names that I am not allowed to use if I want. to change my name by deed poll? Could I, for instance, call myself Coca-Cola or Her Majesty Queen Elizabeth the Second? — Steve Hibbert, Shepherds Bush, London

word formations. Originally popularised by black-face minstrels, "Kick the bucket" comes, via kicker-Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted aboo (dead), from the West African to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Farring-Ga words kekre (stiff) and bo (to end don Road, London EC1M 3HQ. up), and also the Slerra Leone Cre-The Best Ever Notes & Quartes is ole Krio kekerabu (dead). - Tony now available, price £8.99

# A bus with a view

HEN I get on the bus it is already full. I have to jostle to get to the ticket machine to push my plastic card into the slot for my fare to be deducted. I scrabble to catch the flimsy ticket that shoots out with my card - there have been inspectors on the bus recently and somewhere above my head is a notice informing me of the punishments for those who eat. drink or litter on the bus. I don't even want to discover what the fine is for travelling without a ticket. The street is still quiet, with only

few elderly men setting up tables front of their small shops, neatly pegging magazines one by one to a e stretched between the wooden joists which support the balconies of the old shop houses, or arranging today's loaves of sliced white bread in a wire rack behind one of the oillars, out of the sun. Labourers in vests, shorts or dhotis and flip-flops leave the food stalls carrying tiny plastic bags of milky coffee to drink later. A maid hurries down a sidestreet towards the kindergarten with a little Chinese boy in a lilac sailor-suit. An elderly gap-toothed trishaw driver strains alongside the bus, his sinewy arms and legs tanned the dark brown of his battered hat. An old Chinese lady in a grey floral samfu sits behind him, surrounded by bags of shopping from the local market. Sunshine glints off the little altars outside the hops, a few satsumas on each one. wo men wearing black Malay hats and immaculate white shirts stand

way to or from the mosque. As the bus continues towards the city, shophouses abruptly give way to white villas, and then high-rise public housing estates. An Indian family struggle on to the bus, and it s the American tourist who offers his seat to the father carrying the baby, and then, ashamed, his Chinese neighbour gives hers to the mother and the little girl. The family are dressed in their best, the children's hair gleaming with oil, going into the city for the festival.

chatting by the roadside, on their

We pass shining marble-fronted tower-blocks, huge concrete and glass complexes of offices, hotels and boutiques. The old white colonial buildings are dwarfed by their angular neighbours. Some of the roadside trees have a scattering of bright yellow flowers, others are shedding their leaves. Every available space beside the road is a lush green of shrubs and plants.

From the bus I see a brightly coloured procession — women in fabulously coloured saris and men in gorgeously bright shirts. Among them are strange shapes of bobbing eathers. It is the annual Hindu festival of Thaipusam, honouring Lord Subrahmanya and Ganesh, the sons of Shiva. These are the devotees slowly walking from the Sri Srinivasa Perumal Temple to the Chettiar Hindu Temple wearing their chosen kavadi (burdens) of spikes in their bodies. Some balance steel arches above their heads, decorated with an array of plumes or peacock

Metal spikes are hooked into heir chests, backs and even faces. Enthusiastic friends are clapping and chanting to encourage them, willing them to make it. From this distance it all looks strange and wonderful, but I imagine the pain and effort and find myself flinching. A buzz of conversation has broken out on the bus as we all strain to look. My fellow passengers tut and mutter at the spectacle.

HE BUS—halts—outside a flashy building which has just shed its Christmas display of enormous doves for a rash of sprays of baby-pink plastic blossom. All the window displays in Singapore have turned red: lanterns, banners, imitation fire-crackers, and even Mickey and Minnie hang outside the smaller shops dressed Chinese-style. The larger stores have replaced their Christmas trees with sprays of pink flowers. Santa has been transformed into the God of Prosperity. There is also the occasional giant-size goofy cow, because Chinese New Year this month heralds the Year of the Ox. My personal favourite features (wo yellow cattle standing on their hindlegs and kissing. She wears a mini-skirt, just like most of the women milling past her.

Some stores have green banners and flags decorated in delicate golden Arabic calligraphy: the end of Ramadan is in February too. Muslims will be celebrating Hari Raya Puasa while their Chinese neighbours toast the Lunar New Year. The green decorations seem understated in the face of the strident red. orange and pink window displays. Even an oncoming bus flashes "Gong Xi Fa Cai" (I wish you lots of money) on its LCD display.

It's time for me to elbow my way off the bus into the heat and get to

# Quick crossword no. 352

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24	Where the	ı '—		_		_			_					

Down

1 Gentle approving blow (3) 2 Dense shrubland (7) 3 (mpulse (4)

shoddy (8)

(archaic) (5)

6 Anything

compass

points (8,5)

4 Large flatfish (6) 5 Cheap and

7 Sweet lump — Last week's solution Rio mountain O Bureaucratic self-importance (9)

12 Sheet-like tlasue etc (8) 15 Apart (as belowl) (7) 16 Opposite of acld (6) 18 Vulgar parlance (5) 20 Survey (4)

23 Tree (3)

the occasional sunny period. I'm not alone in this. Just about every expert will tell you that the opening lead is the most dangerous and difficult part of the game. Contracts that could be defeated are allowed to make because of a poor opening lead more often than for any other

This is understandable, of course. when all you have to go on is some aggressive and uninformative bidding from your opponents, finding the right card at trick one can be difficult indeed.

**♦**J65 ♥4 ♦108642 **♦**K873

North You No 3♥ No

# **Bridge** Zia Mahmood

HOW are you on opening leads? I find them a bit like the British weather: a great deal of rain with

Once the dreaded opening lead is use the information provided by the | the Italian superstar's advice on sight of dummy and one another's this hand, you will regret it, for the signals to conduct the defence. But

To see if you're in form, try this problem. Your hand is:

and the bidding has been:

No No

What do you lead? A great numy experts would choose an opening club lead.

Benito Garozzo, one of the great est players who ever lived, once said that "against small slams, you must attack", by which he meant that you should not be afraid to lead from unsupported honours.

When the opponents contract for a slam, they'll usually have plenty of tricks if you defend passively, so an aggressive lead from a king or a queen is often the successful action. But if you follow deal is:

> North **♣ Q 1073** ♥K6532 **♦ Q**5

West East **★** K9842 **★** J65 ¥ 4 **¥**97 108642 ◆ AKJ3 **±** K873 **♣**65

**♥**AQJ108 97 **♣**AQJ102

As you can see, any lead but club leaves declarer with no chance for his contract. A diamond will kill the slam at once, while a heart or a spade will give declarer momentary hope until the club finesse fails. This doesn't mean that Garozzo's

advice was wrong. In general, when the opponents bid to a small slam, your side is likely to have one chance to gain the lead following trick one.

You should therefore try to find a lead that will establish a second winner for you when you get in Wi the first one. But when a player who opens with a one bid jumps to slam after a limit raise from partner, he almost always has an extremely distributional hand and will often hold a strong two-suiter, so you should try to avoid leading his

second suit. On this deal, that suit is more likely to be clubs than any other. since you have greater length li diamonds than clubs and, declarer's second suit were spades, he might have opened 14 instead

If you chose a club lead, bad luck — but if it's any consolation, 80

# A Country Diary

THE COTTAGE we rent on Lake Huron's Manitoulin Island is intessentially Canadian. Built by a Finn after the war, it is constructed of the land; spindly pine trees and mas-sive slabs of fossilised limestone. We love it there. So does the local fauna. In previous years we have shared with deer, mice, squirrels and snakes. One ruffed grouse was so eager to get in he came through the window, breaking his neck in the process.

This year it was a little brown bat. Bats are enjoying a renaissance in public opinion. Naturalists reassure us that bats are unlikely to be rabid, are clean and eat their weight contrary to myths, they do not en- 1 crawling up and down my spine.

tangle themselves in human hair and, at least in the north, do not auck blood. Newspaper articles encourage us to build bat houses, rectangular boxes with no bottoms. All of which makes it very difficult to react in horror just because a bat has decided he likes your accommodation as much as you do.

Our bat would appear each evening to fly a few laps around the room before disappearing through a crack in the celling above our bed. "He'll keep the mosquitoes down," Anita reasoned. But, I knew it was a mouse with wings, and if I wasn't afraid of mice, I need not fear bats. I am, after all, a rational man. Nevertheless when our winged friend took in mosquitoes daily. Furthermore, a tour I could not stop the frissons

# Worlds in collision

Derek Malcolm

T WASN'T long ago that Ken Loach seemed an almost forgotten film-maker, at least as far as the big screen was concerned. Now, thanks at least partly to friendly critics and admiring festival juries, he is able to make a film each year.

Carla's Song is his sixth of the nineties - two of which (Riff-Raff and Land And Freedom) were voted European Film of the Year. It still isn't easy to be an overtly political film-maker in Britain, even one with Loach's skill, humour and compas-

Carla's Song has all these attributes, even if it is not his most successful blend of them. Set first in Glasgow and then in Nicaragua at the time of the Sandinistas' last stand against the Contras, it starts as Loach's first love story and ends as one of his most polemical statements. Unfortunately, the latter in the end drowns out the former and the film becomes a lesser one because of it

Robert Carlyle, one of Scotland's best actors and a screen natural as Trainspotting, Riff-Raff and Go Now showed - plays a bolshie bus driver who meets a Nicaraguan refugee (Oyanka Cabezas). He falls for her and finally journeys back with her to her war-riven homeland.

The initial love story is both amusing and affecting. The bus driver is determined to chase the girl, even though she is hesitant to gets, the less effective it becomes.

So. But, strangely, the angrier it gets, the less effective it becomes.

Love in the time of war... Oyanka Cabezas in Curla's Song

get involved. She has a cause to consider, and he hasn't the faintest idea what he is getting into.

In Nicaragua, he (and we) find out. He befriends an American (Scott Glenn) fighting with the so-cialist Sandinistas, and sees the havoc and cruelty the conflict produces, learning at first hand about the terrible history of the Central American world.

The film gives us evidence that is pretty indisputable. But in its second half it loses its highly personal centre and threatens to become the kind of emotional diatribe that bludgeons watchers into acceptance.

What the film clearly intends is a lest-we-forget drama in which the apolitical bus driver becomes a representative of those of us unaware of the Nicaraguan conflict and its depressing aftermath. But its analysis seems too weighted to be other than a little simplistic. The Contras may have been racketeers for American capitalism and the Nicaraguan middle classes. But the present government did, after all, win the elections, and they also alowed Loach to make his film.

The best part of it is in Glasgow, where Loach exhibits an amazing grace in detailing, with humour and point, a relationship between two totally different people — one of whom comes from a world pushed into a chaos almost beyond the other's comprehension.

Carla's Song thereafter becomes an angry film, and understandably



# No nudes is bad news

A N INDIAN film festival is like no other. Because India is the only country whose annual film festival moves from centre to centre each year, the bureaucrats have to travel with it, hoping that the locals, often from a totally different culture, will prove co-operative, writes Derek Malcolm.

There are, however, two venues where they know that audiences will at least be know ledgeable and appreciative -Calcutta in Bengal, where the great Satyajit Ray lived, and Trivandrum in beautiful Kerala. They are the only two states in India to have been run by communists, and in both film has long been regarded as an impor tant part of culture.

This year, in the muggy heat of a non-existent winter — Trivandrum has been renamed Thiruvananthapuram to avoid

association with its imperial past - huge crowds saw one of the best programmes mounted in recent memory, including an excellent Asian section and a much appreciated retrospective of Krzysztof Kiéslowski, the Polish director who died last year.

But, as usual, there was controversy. It chiefly concerned the Indian Panorama, designed to show off the best of what is called the Parallel Cinema -which signifies art rather than Bollywood mainstream.

The Panorama excluded Min Nair's Kama Sutra, even in its cut version for Indian consumtion (no frontal nudity). It also omitted the new films of geveral other notable directors such & Mrinal Sen, Govind Nihalani and Aparna Sen. It was difficult to see how they could have been any less disappointing than most of those shown.

The best of the Panorama proved to be Adoor Gopalakrishnan's Kathapurushan (Ma Of The Story), a carefully structured view of Keralan polities through the eyes of a writer whose life progresses through a almost feudal order into the en of Marxism. But the film that caused the greatest controvers was Deepa Mehta's Fire, the story of two married women who, neglected by their husbands, engage in a passion-ate relationship. Despite the mini-riots outside the cinema si crowds tried to get in, Fire handles the sexuality in a determinedly tactful way. But when Shabana Azmi, one of India's stars, and newcomer Nandita Das at last exchange passionate kiss, some cinemsgoers felt that the degeneracy of the West had finally reached the In Trivandrum, however, film

is treated with maximum serival, was generally condemned as "just another Hollywood film". But the public voted the Iranian since the film, though beautiful has little obvious narrative and has been restricted to small art houses in the West. But it would have been fascinating to see what audiences thought of Kamu Sutra, nudity or not...

one of them Shakespeare. He'd heard of Shakespeare but never read him, so he went to the library, took out a collected works, and opted for the first decent speech the epilogue from Henry V. When he told his family he was going to be an actor, his father threw a no-sonof-mine strop and his mum and nine brothers and sisters laughed themselves silly.

East meets West

**Simon Hattenstone** 

meets his old buddy.

the Salford playwright

■ MAGINE you'd been at school

with the class loser. The one

with the horrid nicknames, the

and hide behind a tree on cross-

into a football star like Alan Shearer.

does he. His first play, East Is East, premiered at London's Royal Court

ast November, has transferred to

Stratford East. The play examines

the fraught relationship between a

stolc white English mum and alien-

ated, despotic Pakistani dad, their

six children and fish and chip shop.

It is set in Salford in the early 1970s,

a time when those who didn't con-

form to the Anglo-Saxon norm were

defined by their difference. So I'd

call Ayub Paki and he'd call me Jew.

We didn't think it was racist, we

h's a funny, brutal and moving

play. Ayub says his characters are

slightly grotesque and talks of

heightened realism, a term used by

another Salfordian, Mike Leigh.

Through exaggerating the ridicu-

lous (his dad's pidgin English, the

kitsch wallpaper), he exposes the

wounds and misunderstandings of

It's almost 20 years since I first

met Ayub. He'd just blagged his

way on to an A level drama course at

Salford Tech. Ayub left school with

one O level (a CSE1 in Art, actually)

and a couple of grade three CSEs -

a poor record even by Salford stan-

dards. The course director told him

thought it was compulsory.

I feel as if I've made a similar dis-

Ayub Khan-Din

East Is East shows how the family

In reality, all 10 children turned actor. Here was a role model.

Of course, Ayub failed the exams

one who'd do anything to get out of games, lose his kit, feigu meningitis fitted into neither English nor Pakicountry runs. And then, 20 years stani society. Sajit doesn't communilater, you discovered he'd turned cate, has kept his foreskin a secret from his orthodox Muslim father and buries himself inside a fetid covery about Ayub Khan-Din. So parka because it protects him from the outside world. More than anything it is about the betrayal of his father's unrealistic expectations. Five of the six kids reject Islam for pop music and Western teen culture. Worst of all, the unseen brother turns his back on the chippie to become a "bloody pansy" hair-

> away from arranged marriages and Islam, and four became hair-dressers. His eldest brother became a star and cajoled Pierre Alexander. coiffeur to Manchester's rich and pampered, to give Ayub a job. Ayub was an awful hairdresser, he had neither the scissor technique nor the bedside manner. Ayub aircady knew his hairdressing days were numbered when he happened across David Niven's autobiography. The Moon's A Balloon, He started reading - a rare event. It was an amazing story. One minute Niven is bored and restless in the army, the next he decides to be an

at Salford Tech. But he was so taken with acting he applied to drama school a year early and won a place. At Mountview he met the wellhe had to audition. Ayub asked what | heeled and round-vowelled and his an audition was. The director ex-plained it was a couple of readings. For a while he sounded as if his



Ayub Khan-Din, ex-class reject and imperfect hairdresser, now Royal Court playwright PHOTO: MARTIN GODWI

lows and his acting suffered. Soon, the accent calmed down and he began getting work.

First with the Asian theatre group Tara Arts, then he was invited to audition for the lead in Stephen Frears's My Beautiful Laundrette strangely enough, playing a Pakistani hairdresser. In the end, he was given a small part, although he didn't realise how small at the time. Frears apologised profusely after the edit when his one line was cut. Still the film, written by Hanif Kurelshi, was terrific; we discovered Daniel Day-Lewis and felt ever so proud when Ayub stood at the top of the stairs, mouth akimbo, shouting down in three glorious seconds of celebrity silence.

A year later he was invited round to Frears's for another chat, this time for the lead in the film Sammy And Rosie Get Laid. For a while Ayub became our passport to vicarious fame. Unfortunately, the film

mouth was stuffed with marshmal- | calne, ate a McDonakl's and Mars | have different experiences. Hanif's Bar while masturbating over the

> Ayub's career. He says he is still deied many roles because he is black (by name more than colour). When he auditioned for Tara Arts after leaving drama college he plastered himself in foundation because he worried he wasn't black enough. He first started writing East Is East at college. For years, he'd leave

> t in a bottom drawer and sporadically return to it for another decision and revision. All the time he continued acting, for television, Last year, Tamasha Theatre Company asked him if he still had the play be cause the Royal Court was planning an Asian writer's workshop. And that was that.

Now the play — the first debut to sell out at the Royal Court — is being turned into a film. He is even being held up as a spokesman for the Asian community. The new was a disaster and is best remembered for a scene of ambidextrous ingenuity in which Ayub sniffed co-

father worked at the embassy, my Dad worked in a fucking chippy in Salford." The new Orton then? "I quite like that one . . . I've got rid of all the hammers at home, though."

Ayub talks with incredulity about the letter he received from a searingly eloquent woman who told him he was betraying the Asian community by portraying his father in a bad light. "Well, actually it happened, my Dad was like that and I understood why he was like that. I just write from my experience and am not interested in what people want

He says that you have to telescope lives in a play and, actually, he remembers his parents' good times more than the bad times. We talk about how his mother died of Alzheimer's in her fifties, how his father returned alone to his family in Pakistan to die, how his brothers and sisters found it hilarious that he'd written a play, how they all came to see it in Salford and loved it, and how strange it is that there's only one

# Listening to the silence of Schubert

use to describe András Schiff, says Paul Fisher. But that suits him fine

A NDRAS WHO? ask classical cloth-ears who could put surnames to Nigel, Luciano, José, Kiri or Sir Simon. András Schiff is a buff's planist, whose quality is summed up by a Graniophone magazine critic who reckons him "among the most gifted and mercurial musicians of our time".

Schiff's billing as star player and director of a six-hour concert at London's Wigmore Hall to celebrate Schubert's 200th birthday guaranteed a sell-out before Christmas. And he'll pack them in for another Schubertathon when he plays the sonatas from February 5-22.

Born in Hungary in 1951, Schiff can earn over \$8,000 a performance. and half the year travelling the global concert circuit pays for flats in London and Florence, plus New Year jaunts up the Nile. "I'm glad I've built a certain following," he says, "To me it's enough. I'm not against selling millions of records but won't reach out for the people who buy Nigel Kennedy."

"I despise that kind of thing."

"Because it's very bad music." I first saw him playing very good music at the final recording session of Beethoven's piano concertos with Bernard Haitink conducting the Dresden Staatskappele. At the end. the orchestra tapped their bows on I talk Beethoven. We learned be has the music stands, a muted profes- a life plan and has waited until his sionals' tribute rarer than the sinu- early forties to record Beethoven's | composer had only one public

he'd played entire movements with passion and precision and the resulting CDs, out next autumn, will be the record of intense performances unmediated by intrusive

Schiff is the man most likely to replace Murray Perahia as post-milennial piano superstar and yet Decen let him go because praise, talent and packed halls don't necessarily translate into CD sales. Teldec, a German classical label now owned by Time Warner, signed him knowing he'll resist all attempts at image building. They've taken on a personality problem they define in negatives. "You want me to describe him?" said a Teldec exec. "He's not an outreach artist. He's not flashy."

Schiff echoed the word. "Flashy in a bad direction. Today it's not enough for the big public that some never do in concert. They sight-read body makes beautiful music.

They want an image? "I think an image is your person-

ality, your choice of repertoire and the way you approach music. The trouble starts when record companies want to make your image for you. If you are not very firm in your ideas, you let them make it. and that's dangerous."

A way of avoiding the danger is playing hard to get. The Schubert anniversary, an obvious hook to jolly up CD sales, had Teldec paying for me and another journalist to fly to Germany. But Schiff would only lated ecstasy of an average concertos and needs another concert in his life. "He was not an

Flashy is not a word you'd audience. "I treat recording as per- decade before he's ready to record formance in an empty hall," Schiff the sonatas. He praised the Dresden said later. True. Without a score orchestra for drawing on a centuries-old tradition and being a local band. And that was that. Tomorrow was Amsterdam, then Brussels and Zurich, so we flew our separate

> His looks are a cross between Rembrandt self-portrait and John McEnroe minus the snarl. Over lunch he was devoid of performerpomp and ignored the closed-shop conventions of interviews by naming villainous names: Kennedy and the Three Tenors; "cheap literature and silly books . . . over-engineered

ways, and it took a minuet of phone

calls between agent and Teldec PRs

to arrange a face-to-face interview.

E DESPISES authentic instru-ment CDs as "carefully tailored products" dependent on technology personalities like the Three Tenors | and editing. "The recordings don't have moved musical interpretation | resemble a live performance, and them in the studio, and I oppose that. A recording must be a document of when you have reached a phase in your life. You don't have the right to record a piece sight-reading

in the studio. It's not serious." Serious praise belongs to such dead heroes as Furtwängler and Busch, and he started by loading religious significance on three composers at the centre of the classical canon, "I would call Bach the father, Mozart the son and Schubert the holy spirit." He got stuck straight into Schubert, calling him "the most human, vulnerable and modest" of his holy trinity and seemed to take it personally that this "grand-scale

extroverted composer. His works are not outgoing. As a listener you have to put yourself in a receptive mood of tranquillity and put yourself on his wavelength." Like Schubert, like Schiff.

Schiff, indifferent to the big put lic, prefers the refined little crowds that populate the Wigmore Hall. The Wigmore is ideal for intimate music-making. Restless audiences kill Schubert's music, which is mostly about silence and tranquillity.

"Of all the music I know, Schubert's moves me to tears. Schubert said there is no such thing as happy music and while his music is infinitely sad and tragic, it does not depress me. It lifts me up . . . A concert is not an entertainment. It should be a deep, emotional and intellectual experience from which the listener takes something home to feel and to think about.

"I don't think Schubert wanted to be particularly original," Schiff says. Today it's one of the main criteria for an artist. You cannot be deliberately original. You have to be true be deliberately different." Schiff is different in his indifference to the publicity game. To hell with shifting product if the price is showmanship.

Schiff sees his work as inching along a tradition he defines as conservative and hierarchical. "Performers are second-class citizens to ousness. Neil Jordan's Michael composers," he says. "They're important citizens because the music will not be listened to without us. To me a musical masterpiece has a number of possibilities of approach, Gabbeh as its most popular film and there is a certain frame in -a tribute to its discernment which performers have liberty to move around. It's like the law in life. If there is anarchy, then chaos breaks out."

And would be say the star system is a kind of anarchy? "Most certainly, Yes."

From the exalted to the commonplace

Andrew Clements THE highlight of the Royal Opera's 50th birthday season is they've done the work proud - it was spaciously conducted by Christian Thielemann with a huge cast, led by Thomas Moser in the title role, that is as fine as one could Britain for the first time by a fully professional company 80 years after its premiere in Munich. This four-and-a-half-hour "musi-

cal legend" is by no means the towering masterpiece claimed by some, but its flaws are fascinating. In Gerstatus, accorded the same kind of polyphonists who, by producing a respect and reverence as Wagner's mass supposedly dictated to him by Parsifal or Mastersingers, both of angels, reasserted the importance which cast long shadows over of music in the Roman Catholic Pfilzner's massive score, and whose | church at a time when it was threatthemes of a sacred art, and more ened by Florentine "modernism" on specifically a sacred German art, the one hand and by a return to Falestrina also explores exhaus plainchant on the other. Palestrina lively. And that, for British audiences in the 1990s at least, is where Pfitzner himself set out to be. the Problems start, despite the deli-

with a work that is fundamentally a hin his study, finally at peace in the hymn to German nationalism. Great art, everyone says, should

transcend the cultural context in which it was written. But with a work like Palestrina it's impossible of Trent and its endless haggling not only to divorce the music and over the details of the Roman he new production of Hans not only to divorce the music and Pfitzner's Palestrina. In many ways | the subject matter from when it was | composed, but also separate it from what happened in Germany in the years after the first performance, and from the composer's role in those events. Born in 1869, Pfitzner wish for. But the real interest at | was a contemporary of Richard Covent Garden was the chance to | Strauss, and always saw himself as a became a fierce opponent of modernism in general and of Schoenberg in particular.

There's no doubt Pfitzner identified with the 16th century com-

clous irony of the Royal Opera with the completion of the mass, choosing to mark its anniversary and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, sking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, is provided in the completion of the mass, and the third with Palestrina alone asking for trouble, asking for trouble,

the day. But the central act switches focus from the private to the public bringing to sarcastic life the Council liturgy, in which Palestrina's own musical struggles play a peripheral part. But what Pfitzner is saying in the opera is that good composers should reinforce and maintain the

tradition rather than undermine it. In Pfitzner's book that musical tradition meant German nationalromantic tradition. He was an in- his anti-modernist polemics were to stinctive musical conservative, and | be used by the Nazis in their propaganda against "degenerate" artists, then listening to Palestrina becomes a very troubling experience. The music itself is a queasy mixture of the exalted and the commonplace.

Lehnhoff's production is at its best in marshalling and characterising the assembled clerics in the Council scene, with wonderful cameos from Thomas Allen, Sergel Lelferkus, Robert Tear, Kim Begley, Nicolal Gedda and René Pape starry casting indeed. In the end, plainchant on the other. Palestrina honourable though Lebnhoff's was the saviour of a tradition, just as deliberately non-interventionist approach may have been in theory. letting a work like this speak for

# The imperfect princess

*TELEVISION* 

Nancy Banks-Smith

**T**HE entertaining thing about monarchy is that you never know what you are going to get out of the bran tub. Princess Margaret. as Nicky Haslam said in Secret Lives (Channel 4), is a one-off.

She was, for instance, genuinely beautiful. Seen through the leafpatterned glass of her car, dazzling with tears during the Peter Townsend affair, she looked lumiroyalty above love but her uncle, who did choose love above royalty. was still swinging in the wind.

Secret Lives did not tell us any secrets. It was made against Princess Margaret's wishes and under difficulties. There were plenty of biographers, one bemused old farmer and friends of friends. Haslam, who once shared a flat with her friend Roddy Llewellyn, said: "She's never badly rude, she's really rude. One

There is, of course, her letter to | just become a woman."

Her friends seem as long-suffering as they are loyal. She is a denanding guest. One hostess felt she ad to rewire an entire bedroom so the princess could plug in her curlers. I refer her to a hero of mine. the third Earl of Leicester who, when his wife asked if she should invite the king and queen to lunch, said sternly, "No Alice, don't encourage them!"

It might have been worse. There was a Wittelsbach princess who lived with a goat. Now there was a tricky house guest. Secret Lives Bruck lucky in Mustique. R Mitchell is a crony of the princess there. Or was. She is a convivial uncorseted soul with a partiality for Scandinavian sallors ("Much younger than myself, of course") She told how the princess would ask her to locate some lobsters, then accept them graciously as a gift. "She didn't get drunk — as such — but she was quite well oiled. I think she needed it. She was very quickwitted. She could defend herself but feels it's almost a game to her, be still had in some mysterious cause she loves getting it right, being rude. She does it so perfectly. It's like a game, set and match."

It would have been instructive to since some had an add in some hysterious way a lack of self-confidence. I think she was probably impossible to live with. You might be sexually intimate with her but somehow I be hear an example of this viper strike. | lieve she was never able to relax and

Nicholas Fraser

by Tomas Eloy Martinez Doubleday 320pp £15.99

HEN I first became interested in Eva Perón, during the seventies, it was still dangerous to make inquiries about her life. It was also difficult to find out much about her - investigation of her sex life was taboo, although people alleged to have slept with her were still to be found in Buenos Aires. But the most perplexing aspect of her life had to do with what happened after her death, and how it was that she became a cult object. I was confronted with an excess of information, not all of it plausible. Were latex copies of Evita's em-balmed body made? Was it true that a mysterious series of accidents had occurred to those responsible for hiding Evita? Did it matter?

Rapidly, I despaired of finding out the truth about Evita. The lies told about her had their own life. They were as important as her real story (or more so) — and I wondered whether it wouldn't be better to render her memory as fiction. But I also found myself possessed by Evita - in my dreams I represented her as a dark butterfly sweeping over an empty landscape. Reading Tomas Eloy Martinez's Santa Evita, I wasn't surprised to find the same dream. He, too, wanted to tell the truth about Evita; instead he wrote a wholly absorbing work of fiction.

Flaunting its magical realist pedigree, Santa Evita assembles all the banal half-truths and lies told about its heroine around the indisputable. awesome fact of her death, aged 33.

The sources on which this novel is based are not altogether reliable," Martinez explains, with a wink in the direction of Garcia Marquez, Vargas Llosa et al. "But only in the sense this is true of language and reality as well." This is both true, and not so true. The fictions Evita spun around her own life — she hid her illegitimacy and destroyed evidence of her actress past - were only novelistic in the sense that fictions, like political propaganda, are composed of untruths. Evita and Perón organised their own soap in which they became ideal beings sac-rificing themselves on behalf of the people. But this fiction became grounded in reality when Evita fell ill at the height of her power.

Nauseating as they seemed to her vindictive and anobbish enemies, the emotions surrounding Evita were real enough - they were evident in the shrines elevated to her memory, and the 40,000 requests for her canonisation received by the Vatican. In her last words Evita left instructions to her followers they should not leave a stone standing if Perón were threatened. Evita's status as revolutionary myth was thus assured, but in real life it was linked to the memory of death and the anticipation of failure. Her embalmed body was the

work of Dr Pedro Ara, a bald, diminutive Spaniard who was Franco's cultural attaché when he wasn't practising what he called "the art of death". At the trade union headquarters, where the embalmer busied himself with his interminable inspections, it was kept suspended in a glass showense.

The army officers who overthrew Peron in 1955 faced a ticklish prob-



Saint or sinner? Evita's life after death remains the great Argentine story of our time

lem — what to do with the body. It | was not and the darkness of what | guise of literature — the problem for could neither be incinerated nor exhibited, so they decided that it should be hidden. Unfortunately, the task was entrusted to a demented, alcoholic, mythomaniac colonel called Eugenio Moori Joenig. He failed to bury the body. Instead, he kept it for his own enjoyment, hidden behind the screen of a movie theatre. Later, it was smuggled out of Argentina, and pseudo-nymously buried in Milan, where it remained for almost 20 years.

Journalists pursued the body, while guerrillas knocked off banks in Evita's memory. Her myth lived, as the graffiti proclaimed, some-where "between the lights of what

might have been". Futile and anticlimactic, a vulgarly necrophile Ealing comedy acripted by Borges, Evita's life after death remains the great Argentine story of our time. Martinez tells it with winning style and makes Evita into a character inspiring many conflicting emotions. But the book is less convincing when dealing with the hokiest versions of the Evita myth. It is just possible that three pre-Barbie latex lolls were made by an Italian sculptor. However, Evita wasn't briefly exhibited in a sex emporium in Hamburg, nor was she ever shipped

to the moon. These tabloid rehashes

don't merit endorsement in the

a novelist is that Evita's story doesn't need embellishment, the truth i bizarre enough.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

"I will come again, and I will be nillions," says the inscription of Evita's tornb. This is something she might have said, and didn't, but i happens to be true. Nowadays, Evita belongs to all of us, but as showbi old, reamplified seventies time and retro forties frocks, Luckily, Santa Evita is there to remind us that the real Eva Perón was a terrifying, unforgiving figure about whom one can never have the last word. dreamed about Evita when I for ished the novel. The dark butterly was still there. - The Observer

# Reading between the edited lines

Natasha Walter

The Diary of a Young Girl: by Anne Frank Edited by Otto Frank and Mirlam Pressier; trans, by Susan Massotty Viking 339pp £16

A NNE FRANK'S diary is one of the greatest books of the century, partly for what it is, and partly for its place in history. The events that lie after the last page - when a car pulled up at the Franks' hiding place in Amsterdam, disgorging an SS sergeant, and Anne Frank and her family were taken off to their deaths - often threaten to overwhelm the diary itself.

Anne Frank has become a monument to the Holocaust, the archevoal victim. But you only have to open the diary to remember that this is not just a historical document. It is the diary of a young girl, and a young girl who was already an astounding writer.

How did Anne Frank know how to write so well, so early? Her diary hums with the need to create, not just to record, the smells and sounds of her hiding place, the

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As she brings herself and her circumstances into such buzzing, engaged life on the page, she triumphs over her history. We return to her again and again, unable to believe that this hymn to life was written on the way to Belsen.

This edition, edited by Mirjam Pressler, adds about a third more material to the standard edition that Otto Frank, Anne's father, who survived the camps, brought out in 1947. For those of us who have only read the standard edition before, it's a real excitement to read all these meaty additions.

Her entry for March 24 1944. dropped from her father's version, appears here. "I often go up to Peter's room after dinner nowadays to breathe in the fresh evening it begins. By then, Anne Frank had been confined to her tiny annexe with seven other people for a year and eight months; the desire for air and freedom speaks itself without self-pity, but with a sort of understated poetry. The desperate embarrassment of trying to conduct one's first love affair in this tiny annexe, watched by her own parents and Peter van Daan's parents, is also referred to in this entry with a charming, naive dignity. "I can't tell you how often the conversation at meals has been about an Annexe wedding, should the war last another five years. Have my parents forgotten that they were young once?" And

looks and speech of the people in it, I tions to a look at the intimacy between Peter and herself. She worries about how Peter might find out about women's bodies, and resolves to explore how one might explain a woman's genitals "without models" So follows the most precise and elegant description of her own body, suffused with the fascination and

> heir own bodies. This edition is being marketed as ough such sections are now being

joy that young women can take in



Anne Frank: triumph over history seen for the first time. But there is nothing here that was not published

n English in the 1989 edition of the

diary, the "Critical Edition", also published by Viking. Perhaps there can be no definitive edition of Anne Frank's diary, then, with the easy change of focus that Anne Frank had mastered, she switches from these cool observa
13th birthday on June 12, 1942, but white want hoe described with the real thing, as full and immediate as possible.

Above all, by making a seamless,

had started rewriting earlier sections of it before she was captured in August 1944. So there are two parallel and very different versions of much of the diary, and the Critical Edition lays them out side by side for comparison. But this edition gues the way of Otto Frank's version, and chooses to make the two into one scamless whole, relying nainly on her rewritten diary but editing out parts of it and stitching n bits from the earlier one. In other words, rather than being a definitive edition, this is one more version, fuller than Otto Frank's, but still full of gaps and ambiguities.

If what appears in the Critical Edition is correct there are oddities in the way Mirjam Pressler has cut and pasted Anne Frank's two originals together to make this new version. Why do these two resonant sentences not appear, as they do in the Critical Edition's entry for October 14 1942; "Tonight I dreamed about PS [Peter Schiff] again and he was the same as always, I just wish he would come and hide with us here too. Perhaps the poor boy is

already dead in Poland"? Why does Pressler ignore those intriguing moments when the material aspect of writing a diary are highlighted — as when Anne Frank makes a mistake, and then scribbles, "That must be from all the excitement, my heart is beating like a sledgehammer"? There are dozens of similar omissions. Some could be diamissed as trivial. But they add up. If we respect Anne Frank as a writer, and not just as a monument, we don't want libertles taken with

easy-to-read whole out of the two Pressler clides the development of Anne Frank as a writer, In the Critical Edition, you can see how the uncontrolled, importunate carlier entries gradually metamorphose imo maturity. Here, that is heavily obscured by the desire to close up the gaps and varnish over the style.

Despite these drawbacks, if you have never read the diary, o haven't read it for years, this is the edition to buy. The Critical Edition is too unwieldy to be read straigh through, and that immediate disad vantage outweighs its other advantages. And whatever edition you read, Anne Frank's clear, resonant voice rises above her editors. That is her triumph. She is an unsentimental writer who still breaks ou hearts. "Who knows, perhaps the day will come when I'm left alone more than I'd like."

If you would like a copy of The Diary of a Young Girl: The Definitive Edition at the special price of £12, contact Books@The Guardian Weekly

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Lucretia Stewart

Give us a Kiss, by Daniel Woodrell (No Exit Press £10hbk, £6.99pbk)

**T** HE MOST original of this week's books by miles, Give Us A Kiss, bills itself as a "country noir", a genre hitherto unknown to me - as indeed is the writer. As the blurb puts it, "Doyle Redmond is on the drift from a failed marriage and a floundering life" - immediately we feel at home. The setting is "the red and rocky soil of the Ozarks where Redmonds have been farming and fighting since the Civil War". Doyle is a writer who has never hit the big time: sent to bring his big brother Smoke to face the music - and the law - he finds him shacked up in Deliverance country with Big Annie (whose drop dead gorgeous "hillbillyette" daughter Niagra tells him, They love to rut in the mornin', under the shade trees where the grass is all dewy and slick and stuff"). Smitten with Niagra, Doyle is co-opted into a money-making scheme involving the theft of a huge dope crop. Then the fists start to fly.

The Bone Collector, by Jeffrey Deaver (Hodder & Stoughton,

SOPHISTICATED chiller whose influences include The Silence Of The Lambs and Ironside. The title reveals the murderer's particular obsession; the detective is a quadriplegic forensic specialist, Lincoln Rhyme, whose Clarice Starling is a beautiful beat cop called Amelia Sachs. Uncomfortable with her beauty, Amelia feels at ease with Lincoln who can barely move a musde. Compulsive reading even if the violence at times seems gratuitous.

M is for Malice, by Sue Grafton (Macmillan, £15,99)

**S** OMEBODY said to me recently, "What's she going to do when she runs out of letters?" Possibly retire. I love Sue Grafton's Kinsey Millhone novels. You know exactly what to expect and you are never disappointed. Here, Kinsey is hired to find the n'er-do-well son of a millionaire to try to talk him out of taking his share of the loot. He's a reformed character, born again, but even so things get pretty masty. Still, Kinsey is enjoying a sex life again, and that can't be bad.

Out of Reach, by Elizabeth McGregor (Headline, £16.99)

C OMPETENT' mystery about a woman whose child was stolen 10 years previously and who sudly starts receiving letters telling her that he's alive. There are two plots, skilfully interwoven. But where, oh, where is the pace and iumour that even the silliest American crime-writer seems to summon up effortlessly?

Ending in Tears, by Penny Kline (Macmillan, £16.99)

DEPRESSING going-nowhere tale by Bristol-based psychotherapist about a kidnap attempt which turns out to be only the tip of a more complicated iceberg. Sychologist Anna McColl to the escue. You have to keep flicking back through the pages trying to remember who the characters are. I don't blame Anna's lover Owen for reader's mind into so much stuff rupt, broken-down society, a going to Australia. Not one bit.

Iain Sinclair . . . in touch with secret forces in London's Smithfield district. For Sinclair magic has become politics Magus of the city tormented streets of Hackney, St

Paul's, exiled poets and pulp writers, stubborn booksellers. Behind all this lies Sinclair's theories about force fields, ley lines, history as a kind of electrical sediment. The prose is brutally gouged by what he sees around him, It forces his writing into the colloquial and comic, and gives it its salt. Reflect-

English prose cares about lain Sinclair, a demented ing on the growth of private security services in Hackney, Sinclair writes "The philosophy is homocopathic, treating like with like. Take a gander down the flant; of the decomdon that floods him, and this book of described walks in London unissioned hospital on the far side of Kingsland Road; vans. And they're all plastered with promises in heavy clair all the time. So purely is he a duty protection — alarm systems grilles, trip-wires, locks, chains state of decadence: that is to say, Everything the upwardly mobile Econe can find Sinclair's leftish politics stasy broker could require." There are so many squeezed de

tails, so many fat sentences in this tiresome, his occultism untrue, and forgive all of this because the prose, large book that one can only toss a gorgeously amoral, is stronger than few grains at the reader. Walking In the world it inhabits. It consumes The Square Mile, Sinclair sees the police pull over some victims: "A Sinclair's book is divided into quorum of Afro-Caribbeans in overambitious German motors are disnine encounters, loosely structured around a series of grainy scavengcriminated to the side of the road." John Major is "an understudy for ings undertaken on foot by the author and the photographer, Marc Gilbert and George". In the book's best chapter, Sinclair and Atkins Atkins, Admirers of Downriver, Sinclair's archaeological London novel. visit Jeffrey Archer's penthouse will find certain places and themes overlooking the river opposite Westminster. Sinclair logs the astonishrecurring — the ambiguous centrality of the Thames, the history- I ing view, the streaming light, the I from Books@Guardian Weekly

"khaki Thames", the "birds everywhere, glittering avian objects that link with the gilded acorns and pineapples and obelisk flames of Westminster and Lambeth.

And then this moment of lyricism hardens into a sardonic crust: "Sitting at the end window, sundowner in hand, a tragic poet with a taste for sentimental elegies would have been uniquely placed to watch the Marchioness go down." There is a cockiness, a clip to this; and an invigorating rage, which has also to do with his furious disestablishment. Like all good satirists, he loves a soft (arget.

Sinclair is known for a kind of anarchist-leftism: the kind that prefers Hackney's squalor to Docklands' perfection. But he is a conservative, really. This is both appealing and unappealing. It gives him a useful interest in power and class; he wants to know where people went to school. He hears accents, watches class-slyness. The writing recalls Conrad's in The Secret Agent both writers feel metaphysically oppressed by power.

But, less appealingly, one fears his conservatism seeks to freeze London. This is the danger of his strange belief in the occult. It is difficult to summarise Sinclair's doctrine of "psychogeography" (much of it from Blake), partly because Sinclair seems not always to take it seriously.
The idea is that London is divided into energy fields, and that certain areas of the city have magical potencies which flow from their historicity.

It is this belief that sunctions Sinclair's prejudices in this book prejudices that then become a polities. For instance, Sinclair hates the police roadblocks in the City because they are an affront to the "energy field" of that area. Thus, for Sinclair magic has become politics. This conservatism has its purest exponent in Sinclair's keenest student, Peter Ackroyd, for whom the past is like the food on someone else's plate, always more interesting than one's own. The result is a deeply conservative theory of culture in which a magical essence is handed tlown from age to age.

There is such a danger in Sinclair's writing. Fortunately, he is transfixed by the modern, a sublime archaeologist of the present, and his dig has produced one of the most remarkable books ever written on

A copy of this book is available at a special discount price of £10.99

cord". He is one of the very best

# Toffee of the universe

Ian Sansom

James Wood

History of London

Granta 400pp £12.99

by lain Sinclair

Lights Out For The Territory:

Nine Excursions in The Secret

NYONE who cares about

magus of the sentence. He is a bit-

ter, slangy, rich precisionist who is

flooded with impressions, It is Lon-

One does not have to believe Sin-

stylist that he returns prose to a

babyish, his taste for pulp writing

the world it inhabits.

streets is a fabulous saturation.

Penguin Modern Poets 10 Penguin 152pp £5.99

IN LIGHTS Out For The l Territory, Iain Sinclair describes poetry, rather sweetly, as "the toffee of the universe", and this latest Modern Poets anthology from Penguln certainly gives

the reader plenty to chew on. There is, of course, poetry by Sinclair himself, which is much to be welcomed, since individual collections of his work are difficult to come by.

While Sinclair's novels are extraordinary displays of crudition and imagination which often degenerate over time in the and nonsense, poems are short Britain "dying of its own ac-

enough and generous enough to allow the reader to bask in their afterglow. It is a poetry of brilhoned observations. Compared with Sinclair.

Douglas Oliver's work might seem like easy reading. There is a welcoming tone of voice, a friendly syntax, and an easily locatable speaking subject, which is much more like the kind of poetry that usually gets taught in schools and colleges.

But one shouldn't be fooled by Oliver's open-handed manner. He inveigles you in — "A long, easy line of introduction, as if I'm a poet prosing alongside you, / a stranger, half-turning in his enthusiasms" - in order to slap you down, startling the reader with his vision of a bank-

political poets writing in English. Denise Riley's work is not so much shocking as simply intoxicating. Her language is fluent, stuttering, confident, self-interrable: "It's true that anyone can fall / in love with anyone at all. / Later, they can't. Ouf. ouf". Her comparative neglect is of such long standing that one despairs of her ever finding the audience

she deserves.

Sinclair and his like are published by small presses, and you can't usually find their books in the shops. None of them gets so much as a mention in a standard reference work like The Oxford Companion To Twentieth-Century Poetry. If you can only usually find Hughes and Heaney under "Poetry" in your local W H Smith's, and you always wondered what else had been happening in poetry over the past 20 years, buy this book.

Comrade Vodka

sobel Montgomery

Moscow Stations by Venedikt Yerofeev trans Stephen Mulrine Faber 130pp £14.99

HEN the editors of the journal Sobriety And Culture published Moscow Stations in 1988, they thought they were contributing cautionary tale on the evils of votka to Mikhail Gorbachev's anti-alcohol campaign. In 1993 when Tom Courtenay recreated Venedikt Yerofeev's drink-inspired monologue for the British stage, audiences thought they had found a contemporary Chekhov, a new Uncle Vanya.

Yerofeev wasn't around to correct them, having died from cancer of the throat in 1990. But in whatever drinkers' paradise he now inhabits, he probably mixed himself a Tear of a Komsomolka cocktail and wondered how his Venya could ever have been so misunderstood.

Venya, on his way to Petushki where the jasmine flowers and his "flaxen-haired she-devil" and baby son wait for him, is the Brezhnevera offspring of Russian literature's Everyman, a little man who kicks against the pricks through sublime drunkenness. The story of his journey is a picaresque travelogue set in what Russians call the time of stagnation. Venya, its hero, is a Muscovite who does not know where the Kremlin is but knows more inc portant things, like how to mix a Dog's Giblets cocktail (Zhiguli beer 100g; Sadko the Wealthy Guest shampoo 30g; anti-dandruff solution 70g; superglue 12g; brake fluid 35g; insecticide 20g). He spends his lite in station builets, suburban trains and doorways. This is a country where yodka, not communism, the ruling ideology,

As Venya travels the 125km to Petushki he narrates his descent into an alcoholic underworld, lubricated by a fantastic cocktail of literary allusion. Soviet slogancering, philosophy and myth. This hellish world, peopled by ticket inspectors who collect payment in vodka, workers too pissed to do anything but drink, and drunks who plot the stages of inebriation on graphs like they were production targets in a five-year plan, is not so very far from Soviet reality. Much of Venya's autobiography, his job laying cables, his girlfriend and child in Petushki and career alcoholism, is shared with his creator. Written in 1969 or 1970, the manuscript circulated in samizdat and was published abroad before becoming a cult classic in the final years of the Soviet Union, contemporary literature doing deadend jobs and hanging around in the same marginal landscape of suburban high-rises and vodka shops.

A Moscow Stations cocktail --dash of Gogol, a splash of Dostoevsky mixed with the Bible and Dante - should be enjoyed slowly: at 130 pages it counts as a literary short, but it has a memorable kick.

**NEW AUTHORS** 

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### Michael Walker

EWCASTLE were 3-1 down with 13 minutes to go and not only appeared dead and buried in this match but also in the race for the championship. Then Alan Shearer scored a hat-trick.

It was the Keegan era revisited in terms of the atmosphere and Newcastle's display. Afterwards their manager Kenny Dalglish said: "I now have a better understanding of why Kevin went a bit grey."

Dalglish was a relieved man indeed because, with Manchester United and Liverpool winning last Saturday, and Arsenal and Wimbledon each picking up a point, the deteat that seemed probable as late as the 76th minute would have left Newcastle eight points off the lead. As they have yet to visit any of their four rivals, the coffin lid was closing fast. But then Shearer stuck up a boot and Newcastle found a revival

For Leicester it was a case of sensationally bad luck and they were understandably aggrieved, espelooked suspiciously offside when he I header beyond Hislop.

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

HE long-running dispute be-tween Rugby Football Union

officially came to an end when the

two sides agreed a deal at Twicken-

ham last weekend. The peace pact.

reached after almost 18 mouths of

often fraught wrangling, was signed

just before the start of the Calcutta

Cup, with the individual clubs sign-

The row, in which the clubs de-

manded a greater share of central

funding and more control of compe-

titions in which they took part, over-

shadowed the first season of

professionalism and dented the

game's image. The agreement effec-tively disbands the English Profes-

sional Rugby Union Clubs (Epruc)

which represents the clubs in the

top two divisions. It is replaced by a

new body, Newco, in which both

sides have an equal share and which will administer and market

G REG RUSEDSKI, the British tennis No 2, put up a brave

fight before being narrowly de-

feated by Goran Ivanisevic in the

the top club competitions

ing this week.

and England's leading clubs

Rugby peace pact

eceived a pass from Lee Clark on The cross had come from Parker, the byline before crossing for Shearer to sweep in.

Leicester deserved sympathy and praise in equal measure, and yet in truth they were overwhelmed in terms of possession and shots on

It began in the second minute when Robbie Elliott converted a Gillespie cross that Asprilla and Ferdinand had bites at. Asprilla started in place of Beardsley, whose form has slumped since Dalglish's arrival. The Colombian, whose introduction in mid-week had coincided with four late Newcastle goals against Everton, troubled Leicester.

For 25 minutes Newcastle's football was better than for some weeks but though Ferdinand and Shearer (twice) had good chances to extend the lead, Leicester somehow managed to go in at half-time only one

Had Heskey been more alert when lobbing Hislop, City might even have been level, and 10 minutes after the interval they were. Matt Elliott, O'Neill's record signing cially about the winner. Robert Lee last month, sent a long, looping

who in turn had been given the ball

by Lennon, and these two then took

control of the game, From Lennon's long throw Elliott and Heskey helped the ball on to Claridge, who

With Newcastle committed to at-

tack and their defence disintegrat-

ing fast, Heskey beat Batty in a 68th

minute charge to a pass from Clar-

kige and drilled the ball through

Ginola was then sent on for Gille-

spie and the Frenchman dribbled

his way to the heart of Leicester's

defence, where he went down under

a challenge from Taylor. With

cal asylum in Italy but later changed

rammed it underneath Hislop.

iundarland 0: Blackburn 2, Wast Ham 1; Derby Q. Liverpoot 1; Everton 2; Nottinghum Forest 0;
Leeds Q, Arsenal 0; Manchester Uid 2;
Southempton 1; Newcasite 4; Leicestor 3;
Sheffled Wed Q, Coventry 0; Tottenham 1;
Chelsea 2; Winbledon 1; Middlostrough 1.

Football results and league tables

NATIONWIDE LEAGUE First Division

Botton 2, Blumminers 1; Bladford 1, Huddersfield 1; Grimsby 2, Challon 0; Norwich 1, Bernsley 1; Oxford 1, Manchester Cay 4; Port Vale 2, West Brum 2; Pottsmouth 1, Cloham 0; OPR 0, Crystal Policie 1; Southend 0, Ipswich 0; Swindon 2, Sheffield Utd 1; Teammer 3, Beceting 2; Walsen 2, State 0 ranmere 2, Reading 2; Wokes 2, Stoke 0.

Second Division Bourremouth O. Blacknowl Burnley 1: Milwail O, Bristol City 2: Notts City 1. Burnley 1: Milwail O, Bristol City 2: Notts City 1. Lution 2: Petroborough 0, Wacall 1; Phymouth 0. Wycombe C, Preston 0, Che-Jerfeld 1; Stockport 1, Brentford 2; Walterd 2, Rotherham

Third Division Carisle 2, Northempton 1; Datington 5, Lincoln 2; Doncagter 1, Scunthorpe 1; Hartlepool 1, Scarborough 0; Heroford 3, Wignn 1; Huil 1, Chester 0; Leyton Caret 1, Septen 1, Montfeld

BELL'S SCOTTISH LEAGUE Premier Division Abraction 2, Wilmamock 1; Durde Ukl 1, Callic O, Dunfeunlins 3, Motherwel 1; Eliternan 1, Rollin 1; Rangers 0, Hearls 0.

First Division Clydebank 1, Airdos (; Falès, ), Fundos 1; Partick 3, East File 1; St Johnston ), Greenwick Morton 0; St Mirren 1, String 3. Second Division Ay: 1, Livingston 0: Berwick 2, Stransaur O, Clyde 3, Stenhousemur 0; Harretton 4, Dumitanton 0: Queen of the South

Third Division Alexa O, Forfar 3; Astroath 0, Covern's Park O, Covedenbooth 2, East String 9, Montress O, Inventors Cal 2; Boss County 3, 200

Cambridge Utd 30

Horthampton Colchester Cardiff

Leyton Orlen Rochdele Exeter Darlington Doncaster

Hearts Abordeon Durdomillad

Hibernign Palmanner i Mothersvell Batth

Daylesi Parlick Archine St Marca Falkak Gr Mortogr

Conners of Lough 225 Oron lan 225 Stranoana 225

Third Divisio

First Division

### FA Carling Premierahis

I	a challenge from Taylor. With		P	W	D	L,	F	A	Pta	
ı			25	14	8	3	50	28	50	
ı	Keller directing the wall and defend-	Liverpool	25	14	7	.4	42	20	49	
ı	ers either side of him on the	Arsenal	25	13	8	4	44	23	47	
ı	goalline. Shearer sensed uncer-		25	13	6	6	50	3ù	45	
ı	A CONTRACTOR OF THE PROPERTY O	Chelsea	24	11	8	5	38	33	41	
ı	tainty and struck quickly. His free-		23	11	ß	Ğ	36	28	39	
ı	kick nearly broke the roof of the net.		25	11	6	8	32	26	39	
ı			24	8	11	5	26	27	36	
ı	The noise was now growing with		26	8	7	10	24	38	31	
ı	each Newcastle surge, and when	Toltenham	24	ă	å	11	28	33	31	
I	with seven minutes remaining Fer-		25	8	6	11	21	27	30	
١			25	7	8	10	23	32	20	
ı	dinand found Shearer, the Gallow-	Blackburn	24	6	9	9	26	24	27	
ı	gate End breathed expectantly.	Leicester	24 24	7	6	11	25	35	27	
l		Coventry	25	ė	š	10	23	33	27	
ì	They were not disappointed,		24	6	10	9	22	30	28	
ı	Shearer whacking the equaliser into	Notirn Forest	25	6	8	12	23	40	23	
ı	the far corner. Then came the in-	West Harn	24	ě	7	12	20	32	22	
١		Southampton	23	55	5	13	32	41	20	
١	jury-time winner.			2	3	12	30	44	19	
	,	Middleebrough		9		12	20	44	18	
		Three points deduc	reg							

### de League First Division

		P	w	D	L	- 10	- 8	Pts	-1
	Bolton	31	18	10	3	65	39	64	1
ship side Southampton 2-1 in the	Walves	30	15	7	8	42	28	62	1
quarter-final replay of their Coca-	Barnsley	29	14	6	8	50	35	51	1
Cola Cup match. County's young	Sheft Utd	30	1.1	8	8	50	33	60	ł
	Norwich	30	13	7	10	50	:13	46	1
team, assembled for just over	Crystal Palace	29	11	10	8	53	32	43	1
£400,000, can now look forward to	Tranmere	30	12	7	11	42	37	43	١
banking £1 million from their giant-	Port Vale	31	10	13	8	38	35		1
	Stoke	29	12	7	10	35	40		1
killing cup act. After going a goul	OPR	30	11	9	10	43	42		- 1
down, they fought back to snatch	Portsmouth	31	12	6	13	35	37	42	١
the winner seven minutes from	lpswich Oxford Utd	30	10	11	12	41	39		- 1
	Huddersfield	31	iò	Ιú	11	37	42		١
time. They next take on Middles-	Swindon	30	11	5	1.5	42	dis		١
brough's £30 million collection of	Birmingham	27	9	10	B	30	27	37	١
highly paid under-performing stars.	West Brom	30	7	14	9	40	52		١
In the other semi, Leicester take on	Charlion	20	10	6	14	30	in		- 1
	Reading	:30	8	10	12	37	46		١
Wimbledon.	Men City	29	53	5	15	33	43		1
	Bradlord	31	7	10	14	29	414	31	1
	Southork	30	G	11	13	28	50	29	ı
- W	Oldham	28	6	10	1:2	30	35	28	
K members of the Ethiopian	Grimsby	20	13	11	1-8	35	53	27	
ootball team, who sought politi-	Second Divis	lon							

their minds and returned home,		P	w	D	L	F	A	Pte
	Brentford	20	15	10	-1	47	211	56
have been suspended by their coun-	Luton	27	15	B	6	46	27	51
try. Ten others are still in Italy.	Bristol City	20	1:5	ŁS.	25	47	:40	47
	Crawo	28	16	12	11	41	281	47
where their cases are being exam-	Burnley	W1	1:4	65	11	44	34	48
ined.	Bury	26	123	60	G	:19	:54	48
	Chosteefick	27	1:3	6	23	25	291	45
	Slockput	27	12	84	7	341	311	44
	Milwell	211	12	н	11	37	38	44
CRAIG McDERMOTT, Australia's second most successful	Wattord	27	10	14	34	211	213	44
tralia's second most suggestful	Wrosham	20	10	11	Ei.	35	311	41
trana's second most successin	Wallaali	27	11	G	10	32	30	39
bowler of all time, has been forced	Shrewstury	30	9	9	12	39	47	36
to quit the game due to a chronic	Blackpool	28	B	11	9	32	30	38
	Bournemouth	30	9	8	13	28	34	35
knee condition coupled with in-	Bristol Rovers	29	8	10	11	20	31	34
creased business interests. The 31-	Preston	29	9	6	14	29	35	33
year-old Queenslander made his	Gillinghem	29	8	8	13	31	39	32
	Plymouth	29	7	11	11	31	42	32
Test debut against West Indies as a	York	24	8	- 6	14	28	44	30
19-year-old and finished with 291	Peterborough	28	6	11	11	39	46	25
wickets from 71 Tests at an average	Wycombo	28	7	6	15	26	41	27
	Notts County	28	5	9	14	21	35	24
of 28.63.	Rotherham	28	4	9	15	24	44	21

Alica Montrose Cowdenbeath Albign Queen's Park 21 East Stirling 21 3 8 12 18 34

# **England flops while Lloyd flips**

Paul Weaver in Wanganui

Solution NGLAND, as had seemed in-evitable after their disastrous collapse on the second morning, went down to defeat by New Zealand A by 90 runs here last Sunday to become the first touring side to lose a first-class game in New Zealand, outside Test matches, since the rookies of Sri Lanka in 1983.

A few minutes after the embarrassing formalities had been com-pleted the England coach David Lloyd walked briskly into the press played well, given the circumstances tent at Victoria Park and began to ... We gave as good a performance talk such a load of tosh that everyone present was immediately reminded of his mutterings in

onship at Zagreb on Sunday. In a two-hour thriller, Rusedski fired 19

aces to the hard-hitting Croat's 22.

He also showed great composure

despite the highly partisan crowd

before the local hero went on to win

the final set on a tie-break to clinch

SECOND Division Stockport County sprang yet another sur-

victory at 6-7, 6-4, 6-7.

final of the Croatian Indoor Champi- | prise when they defeated Premier- | of 28.63.

Cricket Tour match: New Zealand Av England XI

Zimbabwe before Christmas. Lloyd is not mad; neither is he stupid. But when things go against him, as they have recently, he is capable of spouting a torrent of hokum.

Among Sunday's blatherings were: "I was very proud and pleased

. . We gave as good a performance as could have been expected . . . This defeat has not been at all damaging, not in the slightest . . . It's been a useful exercise."

While this was going on, experienced cricket writers, hardened hacks from earlier campaigns and who could recall Ted Dexter invoking astrology, looked at one another and shook their heads.

portance of winning every match. In the past it was unthinkable that an England touring side should lose

a warm-up game such as this. Now such mishaps have become com-monplace, and this match was particularly disappointing because, with one or two exceptions, England did not even bother to compete.

Afterwards the New Zealand A captain Darrin Murray said: "We were prepared to fight a blt harder. In their situation we would have dug in and fought a bit more. It was

Lloyd added, pointedly: "We are with the way we approached this This was the same Lloyd who, in now going to enjoy our rest after the game, and that we stuck at it... We the early, successful stages of the Test. We have had 10 days' solid New Zealand A won by 90 runs

New Zealand tour, stressed the im- | cricket; I don't count a day's travel ling as a rest day. I'm sure the Bryan Youngs, Blair Pococks, Nathan Astles and Dipak Patels have enjoyed the past five or six days. According to the newspapers they haven't been playing much

Next summer Australia, after the first Test and a single day's rest, face back-to-back first-class matches against county sides. It will be interesting to hear what, if anything, they have to say about their

Scores: England XI 107 and 272

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Rugby Union The Five Nations Championship: England 41 Scotland 13

# **England throw down the gauntlet**

Robert Armstrong at Twickenham

NGIAND's prospects of win-ning a fourth Grand Slam in seven years gained immediate credibility with a record eighth successive victory over Scotland, which was also their biggest win in the history of the Five Nations Championship. Ireland, having beaten Wales, may not feel daunted by the impending visit of a rampant England side but there is every chance Lansdowne Road will witness another high-scoring contest on February 15.

The 114th Calcutta Cup match was far from typical because it produced five tries, four of them by England, and a great deal of fastflowing rugby. Fears that the game would deteriorate into a joyless penalty shoot-out were ultimately laid to rest by the England backs. who suddenly fired off a brilliant salvo of three tries in five minutes during the final quarter-hour.

England's performance had its share of gaffes but was nevertheles a vindication of the selection of the coach, Jack Rowell. In his first champlonship match as captain, Phil de Glanville must have been delighted that his players threatened to score tries from first to last.

By the end the Scots were in tatters, having succumbed to a short sharp tryfest. The rout began in the 68th minute when Johnson sent Gomarsall over from short range; then Carling held off Logan to plunder a

Lift off . . . Andy Gomarsali lights the fuse that sparked England's victory against Scotland at Twickenham in the 114th Calcutta Cup match side of a ruck in front of the posts to | stakes even higher with their own | World Cup. Richard Hill, the newly calculated brand of risk-taking. "I was happy with the overall bal-

take a short pass from Gomarsall and race through to the line. Yet the Scots deserve Brownie points for having helped to turn this errorstrewn spectacle into one of the most entertaining games on this ground in recent years.

At times it seemed that the bold attacking play of Scotland's fly-half Gregor Townsend and leftwing Kenny Logan was prompting their

ance of the side," said de Glanville. We had power up front and speed among the backs; it was a pleasure o play with them." Certainly the dynamic quality of

support running and ball transfer among England's backs and forwards illustrated the type of training build-up favoured by Rowell, who popular try in the right corner; and finally de Glanville popped up at the and Jon Sleightholme to raise the interactive rugby since the 1995 Rowell's future, receded as England interactive rugby since the 1995

capped Saracens flanker, brought a wider range of options to the back row with probably the most authentic open-side display seen in an England shirt since the era of Peter Winterbottom. At last Rowell ap-

piece in the engine-room jigsaw. Memories of the recent cramped performance against Argentina, which put a question mark over

pears to have found the missing

at pace, giving the centres Carling and de Glanville the chance to impose themselves. Grayson, who scored 21 points, may have been a bit short of his best goalkicking form but he amply compensated for three missed penalties with several scintillating breaks which drew praise from Rowell.

SPORT 31

"Grayson showed handling skills and running skills that brought others into the game," said Rowell. The down side of England's performance was that they battled for 67 minutes without crossing the Scottish line, having been awarded an early penalty try for persistent infringement by the Scots.

At times England's handling and co-ordination, especially in broken play, were not up to league stan-dard, and on top of that their cover defence was patchy.

Scotland's decision to switch l'ownsend from centre to No 10 paid off handsomely in improved cohe-sion and urgency among the backs, with Logan a persistent thorn in England's right flank and Eriksson, he scorer of an excellent 25th minute try, a powerful midfield presence. But much of Scotland's good work was undone when their lefence lost all shape and concentration under sustained pressure from the England pack in the second half and within minutes the game drifted away from them.

The Scots were out of luck too when the New Zealand referee Paddy O'Brien failed to see Rob in the left corner after he was driven over early on - "a 50-50 decision that went against us", the Scotland captain said glumly, "After an hour or so England got good secondphase possession, realised they could score tries and the holes

Wales 25 Ireland 26

# Wales lose their way

in Mailn in Cardiff

A ND SO the scarlet runners who had such a vivid purple patch in Edinburgh were once more halted by the men in green. Wales's dreams of a Triple Crown vanished on a raw, grey afternoon, but the future is ar from bleak.

Wales's management had been realistic about their championship prospects after their win at Murrayfield, and the coach Kevin Bowring is well aware of the thin line between success and failure at international level

As Bowring acknowledged afterwards, it was the Wales pack who were to blame for a lack of control that ensured that Ireland'a 14-year-old run in Cardiff would continue.

Wales have preached and are practising a running game, which is epitomised by the selection of the adventurous Arwel Thomas in the hallowed No 10 shirt. They pierced the gloom to

score three tries to add to the four at Murrayfield, and the Welsh public appreciate this bold approach. But as Bowring said: "You

have to maintain possession when you play this mobile type of game, of water and an large and an Large

brick-wall tackling and an Irish pack that rediscovered their old

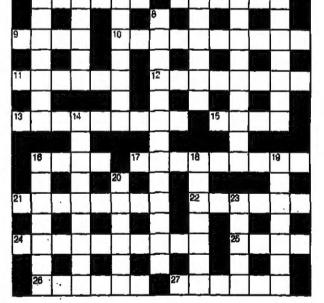
fire. They were also helped by an over-indulgent referee, the Australian Wayne Erickson, who gave a typically liberal, southern hemisphere interpretation of the offside laws.

Ireland's infringing at rucks and mauls allowed their outstanding back row of David Corkery, Eric Miller and Denis McBride to run rampant. They were aided by a loose display by their opposite numbers. Pat Whelan, Ireland's dour team manager, gave credit to their new English coach Brian Ashton for his work during the past month. But in truth the former All Black Mike Brewer probably deserves more plaudits for his work with the Ireland pack, in which Jeremy Davidson enhanced his Lions prospects and Ross Nesdale had a promising debut at hooker.

And all this after Icuan Evans had scored the first of his two tries after only 32 seconds before an Irish hand had touched the ball. The wing, who has now scored 33 tries for his country, and Wales's scrum-half Robert Howley can starting packing their cases for South Africa now.

Wales's captain Jonathan Humphreys said the rest of his team were in good heart for the next fixture, at the Parc des Princes on February 15.

# Cryptic crossword by Araucaria



Greeting from Wooster who has eaten his headgear (4.2)

4 Larger than life sort of verse? (6) 9 A grand spot for a mausoleum

10 (Order changed) Company! Left facel Firel (4,6) 1 Backward lot in a hostile spirit

12 What dld you say about seed?

Any day in January (8) 13 Bushy-talled lunatic twigs (9) 15 Duplicate drops in the kitchen 16 Story of book for bed (4) 17 Tails give new Image to Tracey, possibly (9)

21 Laughter at needlework? (8) 22 Eat or talk turkey? (6) 24 Tip: Borstal may be what he

needs (6.4) 25 Tell to surrender (4)

26 Having no word processor, do it again in its entirety, perhaps

27. One of the cast who knows his lines? (6)

Wainwright's hand ground the ball

1 One who drives West's a dead

duck (7) 2 Warning of a wing man's

3 Trite saying for metal worker 5 The object of batting is to cover

the ball (6) 6 How one drives, of course, not 8 (3.3.3)

Chanel, a crazy person, may get 8 Custom-built from French book,

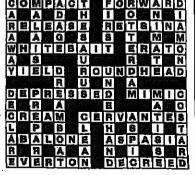
to a certain degree coming first 14 Select few lacking inclination?

16, 20 Substantiate, accommodate, or incarcerate (3,2,2,4,2)

18 Constrain a giant, say? (7) 19 Nothing left of blanket? (3,4)

23 Roll round - take the railway

Last week's solution



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